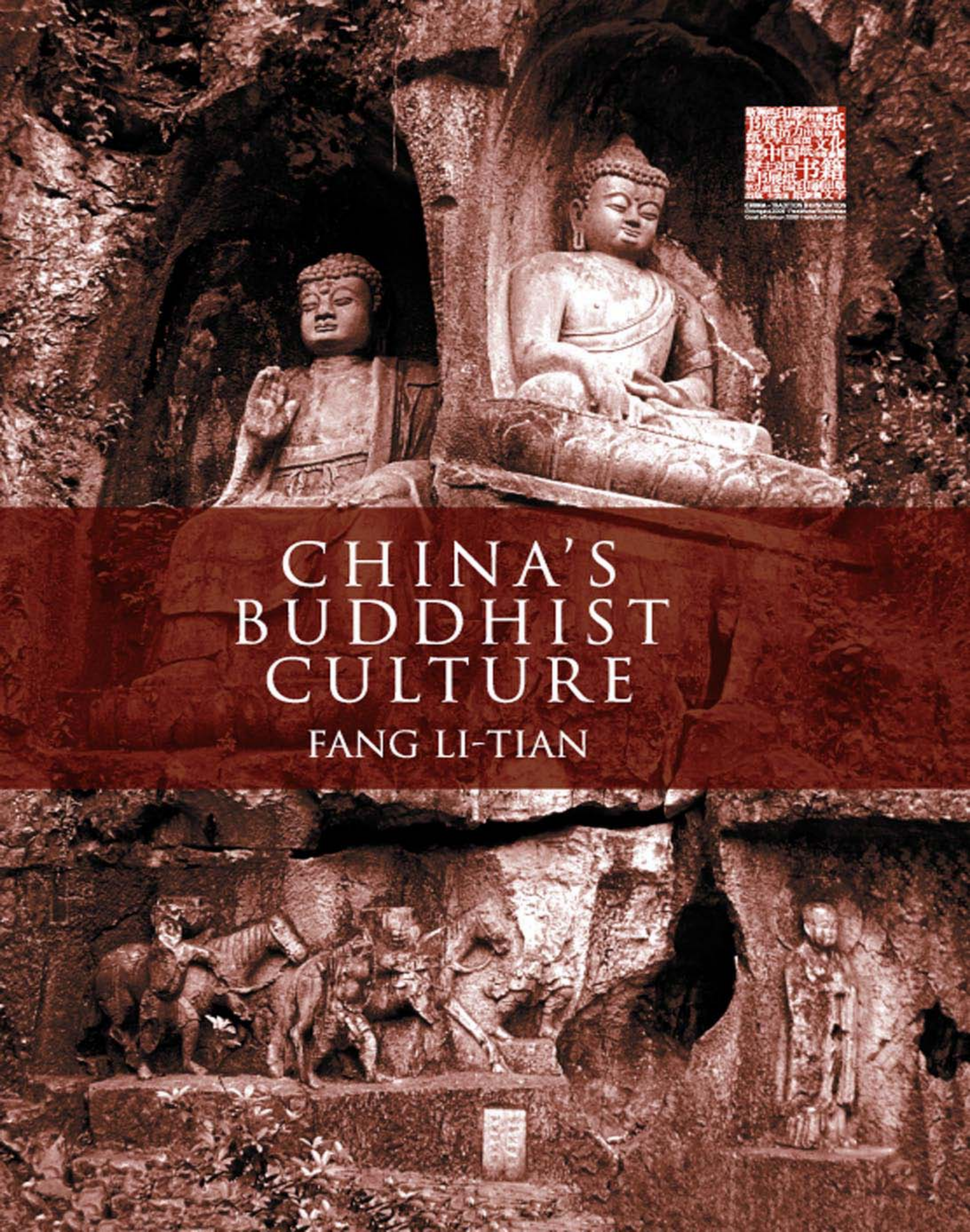


CHINA'S BUDDHIST CULTURE

FANG LI-TIAN

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CHAPTER

1

Buddhism and Chinese Politics

1.1 Political Consciousness in Indian Buddhism

The relationship between Buddhism and Chinese politics is very complicated. Politics has played a very decisive role in shaping Buddhist culture; Buddhism, on the other hand, has always had a reactive approach toward politics and policies. One might wonder how Buddhism, a religion that advocates detachment from worldly matters, is in any way related to the real politics of dynasties in China. By what means does Buddhism influence politics? How can one characterize the role played by Buddhism in Chinese politics? What regularity does it reveal? These are some of the questions that we will attempt to address in this chapter.

Chinese Buddhism finds its roots in India. Hence, let us first summarize the attitude of Indian Buddhism toward politics. Śākyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, preached that everything around us, that is, everything worldly can be regarded as "sufferings," and we can only achieve the ultimate goal of individual emancipation by detachment from the physical world and the termination of the vicious circle of life and death. During the early stages of evolution of Buddhism, wealth, honor, power, and rank were considered despicable, and politics considered as an impediment to individual emancipation. The tenets of early Buddhism urged mankind to unshackle themselves from politics and transcend to new heights. However, Buddhism could not have survived, spread, or grown in strength without the support from the ruling classes. Hence, arose the issue of dependency on the ruling classes for support, and furthermore, the issue of affirming and eulogizing state power, supreme rulers, and "royal laws." The *Vinaya-matrka Sutra*, a Theravada scripture that appeared during the period of Abhidharma (Sectarian) Buddhism, clearly asserted that "there are two kinds of laws that cannot be violated: one is Buddhist dharma, and the other is the laws of Chakravartin (Wheel-Turning Sagely King)." Although it spoke of "two kinds of laws," what it in fact meant was that the royal laws could not be violated; in other words, the laws of Buddhism need to comply with those of the monarchs. Within Buddhism, one can also find "sutras safeguarding the states." These sutras discuss the ways to safeguard a state. For example, according to the *Karunikaraja-prajñāparamita Sutra*, no matter how small or large a country is,

> Once the king preaches or reads prajñāparamita, seven types of calamities will disappear, seven kinds of blessings will be produced, the people will become peaceful and will be pleased, and the king will be satisfied…If all kings in a future world support the Three Treasures (the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha), I will dispatch five powerful bodhisattvas to protect their countries. The five bodhisattvas are the Roaring Bodhisattva of Vajra holding a wheel with excellent marks in his hand, the Roaring Bodhisattva of Nagraja holding a lamp with golden wheels in his hand, the Roaring Bodhisattva of Ten Fearless Powers holding a vajra stick in his hand, the Roaring Bodhisattva of Thunderbolt holding a net with a thousand treasures in his hand, and the Roaring Bodhisattva of Immeasurable Power holding a wheel with five thousand swords in his hand.

Buddhism upholds that all kings would be protected by various powerful bodhisattvas if they were ever threatened by calamities so long as they believed in and practiced Buddhism. Customarily, Buddhism also considers "Four Deva Kings," namely, Dhritarashtra, Virudhaka, Virupaksa, and Vaisravana, as safeguarders of territories.

The tenets of Mahāyāna Buddhism differ from those of Hīnayāna. Mahāyāna Buddhism states that the Buddha salvaged the world with his great kindness and sympathy, leaving no beings behind. This doctrine preaches that the attitude of detachment should be ingrained in all secular activities. Nagarjuna, the founder of the Mahāyāna school Mādhyamika, was supported by his contemporary Iksvaku, as evidenced in his writings *Ratnavali* (Proper Theory of King Bao-xing, 宝行王正论)[1] and the *Gatas for Advising the King* (劝诫王颂), specially telling Iksvaku how to rule his country, how to treat his people, how to believe in and support Buddhism, and how to keep his distance from non-Buddhist teachings. Such special teachings for the ruler reflected the political views of Mahāyāna. The subsequent Gupta dynasty despised Buddhism for a while; in response, some Buddhists wrote the book *Rajadharma-nyaya-sastra* (王法正理论), asking the kings for protection, and the kings in turn would often consult the śramaṇa or Buddhist monks about political affairs. That manifested the dependence of Mahāyāna Yogacara upon the dynasty. Later on, the Mahāyāna was gradually integrated into Esoteric Buddhism, which supported the dynasty and vice versa. By the early thirteenth century, Buddhism gradually died out in India because of the Islamic repression.

Indian Buddhism was introduced into China as an amalgamation of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna forms of Buddhism. Chinese Sangha accepted and embraced the attitude of Indian Buddhism of avoidance, dislike, and detachment from the secular world, as well as its ideas of depending on kings for external safeguards and upholding laws (secular laws) and territories. In Chinese history, prominent Buddhists could largely be grouped into two, depending on their association with politics. The majority either advocated an assimilation of the secular world or stressed its convenient edification; accordingly, they took an active part in politics and kept close ties with the dynasties, serving politics in

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[1] King Bao-xing (宝行王), namely Iksvaku, translated as King Yin-zheng by Xuan-xang and Yi-jing.

a uniquely religious manner. The others, who were the minority, either retreated into Buddhism because of their failures in life or professed themselves as pious Buddhists strictly adhering to the Way and their pride. The latter group stayed away from the state capitals and led a reclusive life in forests or old monasteries, disliking or even detesting civilian life, prosperity, and politics. In addition, Buddhism was also related to political changes, peasant uprisings, and bourgeoisie reforms in early modern times. A basic approach to study Buddhism and Chinese politics is to review the relationship between Buddhism and the politics of various dynasties in China.

The relationship between Buddhism and Chinese politics is not limited to the political attitudes or propositions of prominent Buddhist monks and nuns. Rather, Buddhism as a whole, also plays an indirect role in the politics of society via religious ideas and philosophical thoughts. Therefore, a general investigation of the social and political implications of Buddhist thoughts will constitute an important part of this chapter on the relationship between Buddhism and Chinese politics.

In the arbitrary society of ancient China, Confucianism was an orthodoxy upheld by the government, which explained how to cultivate the mind, regulate a family, govern a state, and harmonize the world. Although Confucian scholars definitely adopted some Buddhist doctrines about mind and nature, they usually animadverted on Buddhism, particularly because the latter denied paternity and monarchy. Buddhist scholars were forced to answer, account for, comprise with, and conciliate such criticism, and this gave rise to the political side of Chinese Buddhism. Accordingly, the debates between Buddhism and Confucianism reveal, in a nutshell, the political views of Chinese Buddhism. This is another important way for us to research Buddhism and Chinese politics. We will discuss this aspect in detail in the next chapter.

1.2 Buddhism and Chinese Imperial Politics

Buddhism did not flourish until the East Jin dynasty (317–420 AD). It did not develop into any social force, and the few individual members of the ruling classes who believed in Buddhism did so simply for their own happiness, that is, to eliminate calamities and gain blessings; and, they did not exploit it politically. During the East Jin dynasty, Buddhism was more widespread and was an important social influence that was increasingly recognized by the ruling classes. From then on, Buddhism and the ruling classes drew closer, and Buddhism began to be used as an auxiliary tool by the ruling classes to justify despotism; simultaneously, conflicts also gradually appeared between these two. This basic pattern, in which Buddhism conformed to (the major aspect) and conflicted with the autocratic ruling classes continued until the end of arbitrary society. The following three stages delineate the gradual build-up of this relationship between Buddhism and the ruling classes.

1.2.1 The East Jin Dynasty and Southern and Northern Dynasties (420–589 AD)

The relationship between Buddhism and politics during this period can be summed up in the following four aspects:

1. The rise of Buddhism and the involvement of prominent monks in politics. During the period of the East Jin dynasty, most rulers of the sixteen kingdoms in northern China encouraged Buddhism as it could be utilized to consolidate their regimes. The rulers of Later Zhao (319–351 AD), Former Qin (350–394 AD), Later Qin (384–417 AD), and North Liang (401–439 AD) were the most prominent among those who encouraged Buddhism. They honored prominent monks, for example, Shi Le (274–333 AD) of the Later Zhao dynasty honored Fotucheng (232–348 AD) as the Grand Monk, and Guo Lilue, a senior general of Shi Le, regarded him as a master. Fotucheng assisted the ruler of Later Zhao in dealing with important military and political affairs; according to historical records, he dissuaded Shi Le from slaughtering the populace. Fu Jian (338–385 AD), emperor of the Former Qin, attacked Xiangyang before he dispatched troops to Kumarajiva (343–413 AD). According to Fu Jian, he did this at the insistence of a prominent monk Dao-an (312 or 314–385 AD). After his arrival in Chang'an, Dao-an had actually become one of Fu Jian's political consultants. Dao-an believed that Buddhism could not survive without support from secular supreme rulers; therefore, he actively offered advice to Fu Jian. Historical records show that Dao-an had done his best to dissuade Fu Jian from dispatching a million troops against south China. However, Fu Jian did not heed him, and was eventually defeated by Xie Xuan (343–388 AD) during the well known Battle of Feishui (383 AD). Yao Xing (36–416 AD), ruler of Later Qin and a successor to the Former Qin, launched a punitive expedition against Lü Guang (338–399 AD) and welcomed and honored Kumarajiva as an imperial mentor. Another instance is Juqu Mengxun (386–433 AD) of the North Liang dynasty who invited Dharma-raksa (385–433 AD) to be his military and political consultant. On learning that Dharma-raksa had supernatural powers, Tuoba Tao (408–452 AD), chief of the Later Wei dynasty (386–534 AD), ordered Mengxun to arrange for Dharma-raksa to come to the capital of Later Wei (also known as Northern Wei). Mengxun, who was afraid of the formidable Later Wei, feared that things would become more unfavorable to North Liang once Dharma-raksa served the king of North Wei. Thus, he had Dharma-raksa murdered on his journey to Northern Wei. The rulers of monitories regarded Buddhists in high esteem, with a view to using Buddhism as a tool to rule the people more effectively.

In southern China, the supreme rulers of the East Jin dynasty, including Emperors Yuan-di (317–322 AD), Ming-di (322–325 AD), and Ai-di (361–365 AD), all embraced Buddhism. The supreme rulers of the southern dynasties endeavored even more to propagate and utilize Buddhism. Among the emperors of the Liu Song dynasty, Emperor Wen-di (453–464 AD) realized the usefulness of Buddhism in politics. He once told his premier He Shangzhi (382–460 AD),

> Confucianism is intended to aid the mundane world for desirable governance. But for the pursuit of profound truth of nature and mind, what can one do without Buddhist sutras as a guide? . . . If the populace from inlands to seashores had truly converted to such teaching, I would sit there leisurely enjoying peaceful governance, saving myself all the troubles! (He Shangzhi's Reply to an Emperor of the Liu Song Dynasty Who Praised Buddhism, see Vol. 11, *Collection of Expositions of Truth*)

Emperor Xiaowu-di (454–464 AD) entrusted important business matters to a monk named Hui-lin and invited him to take part in political affairs; the people of his day called Hui-lin "Premier in Black." The Southern Qi dynasty (497–502 AD) also regarded Buddhism highly. For example, Xiao Ziliang (460–494 AD), son of Emperor Wu-di (483–493 AD) with the title of Prince Wen-xuan at Jingling (today's Tianmen City, Hubei Province), engaged in preaching Buddhist doctrines and disseminating the proposition of eternal souls. Following this, Emperor Wu-di (502–549 AD) of the Liang dynasty (502–557 AD) showed more commitment. Although he originally believed in Taoism, he pledged to reject Taoism and convert to Buddhism after he was enthroned. Moreover, he even called on his subjects to embrace Buddhism. On several occasions, he made farcical attempts to donate himself as a slave to the Tongtai Temple, but was promptly redeemed by his ministers for large amounts of money. This act was, in fact, disguised extortion and exploitation. Emperor Wu-di even offered to be a pluralistic Layman Sangha Chief, intending to unite politics and Buddhism. He had almost elevated Buddhism to the status of a national religion, and he used Buddhism as a tool to rule the country. Owing to political demands, emperors of the Chen dynasty (557–589) succeeding Xiao Qi followed more or less the established regulations of Emperor Wu-di of the Liang dynasty. For example, both Emperor Wu-di (557–559 AD) and Emperor Wen-di (559–566 AD) of the Chen dynasty donated themselves to Buddhist temples, taking the lead in person to believe in Buddhism for stable politics and secure thrones.

2. Disputes about śramaṇas' paying homage to lay people. Buddhist fundamentals denied both paternity and monarchy, and a tonsured Buddhist was absolved from upholding secular manners or ethics. Instead of kneeling down or kowtowing whenever they met lay people, including their parents or even the crowned, tonsured Buddhists simply put their palms together to show their respects. Naturally, this contradicted the ethics of loyalty and filial piety in an autocratic Chinese society that adhered to a patriarchal clan system, and conflicted sharply with the principles of Confucianism. During the East Jin dynasty and Southern and Northern dynasties, this contradiction was concentrated on the issue of manners, especially on the issue that monks or nuns paid no homage to the crowned. During the reign of Emperor Cheng-di (325–342 AD) of the East Jin dynasty, Yu Bing (296–344 AD) assisted the emperor in political affairs. On behalf of Emperor Cheng-di, Yu issued an edict announcing that "All śramaṇa ought to pay homage to the enthroned." In this edict,

he rebuked monks and nuns for despising loyalty and filial piety, abandoning manners and respects, and harming governance and politics. However, a few others, one of whom was the imperial secretary-in-general He Chong (292–346 AD), insisted that śramaṇa should not pay their full homage. The issue was then forwarded to officials in charge of manners and rituals for deliberation, but people disagreed with each other. This issue was raised three times and finally was suspended without being resolved. During the reign of Emperor An-di (396–418 AD), Huan Xuan (369–404 AD), a minister in charge of military forces all over the country, restated Yu Bing's argument, but was opposed by a group of powerful dignitaries in court. A prominent monk Hui-yuan (334–416 AD) wrote a five-piece essay on *Śramaṇa's Paying No Homage to the Enthroned* in refutation of Huan Xuan. Fa-guo was an imperially ordained chief of śramaṇa of the Northern Wei dynasty. As opposed to Hui-yuan, he took the lead in paying homage to emperors, professing that "Emperor Tai-zu is a sage who knew the Way, so he is the Buddha today, and śramaṇa ought to pay full homage to him" (Annals of Buddhism and Taoism, Vol. 114, *Book of Wei*). Moreover, he explained that kneeling down or kowtowing before an emperor was a matter of worshipping the Buddha instead of the emperor, for emperors were the reincarnation of the Buddha. Emperor Xiaowu-di of the Liu Song dynasty ordered the śramaṇa to kneel down and kowtow in the presence of an emperor, or they would be "slashed and punitively tattooed on cheeks or beheaded," (Stories of Perplexed Emperors and Ministers of dynasties, Vol. 6, *Continuation to Collection of Expositions of Truth*), and monks and nuns were left with no alternative but to obey. The dispute over śramaṇa's paying homage to lay people represented the contradictions of Buddhism against monarchial power and Confucianism, and in the case of the East Jin dynasty and the Southern and Northern dynasties, the final outcome was a mutual compromise concomitant with the victory of monarchic power and Confucianism. All this was conditioned by the circumstances then, especially the arbitrary polity.

3. Buddhism-suppressing events. Most emperors of the North dynasties, including Emperors Daowu-di (386–409 AD), Mingyuan-di (409–423 AD), Wencheng-di (452–465 AD), Xiaowen-di (471–499 AD), and Xunwu-di (499–515 AD) of the North Wei dynasty established by Tuoba Tao, had attached much importance to supporting and utilizing Buddhism. However, this dynasty also witnessed the first event in which political power was used to suppress Buddhism. Emperor Taiwu-di (423–452 AD), son of Emperor Mingyuan-di, was "keenly ambitious of military merits." To strengthen his military forces, he accepted advice from a Taoist Kou Qianzhi (365–448 AD) and his minister Cui Hao in charge of civil affairs, demanding in 438 AD (the fourth year of Taiyan Reign) that all śramaṇa below 50 years be secularized. Later, he issued another edict forbiding governmental organizations or civilians from supporting the śramaṇa without authorization. In 446 AD (the seventh year of Taiping Zhenjun Reign), a Buddhist monastery in Chang'an was found to stock weapons, brewing tools, and belongings consigned by officials and plebeians. It was a time of domestic riots. Emperor Taiwu-di suspected that the monasteries were somehow related to the rebellious uprising,

so he ordered that all the tonsured Buddhists both in Chang'an and other places be slaughtered, and Buddhist sutras and images burned and destroyed. Tuoba Jun, a crown prince, intentionally delayed the announcement of the edict so that the monks and nuns could flee and hide their Buddhist sutras and images at the news, but pagodas within the territory were mostly destroyed. Another example is the North Zhou dynasty (556–581 AD) that similarly embraced and utilized Buddhism; however, Emperor Wu-di (560–578 AD) valued and believed in superstitious Neo-Confucianism and prophecies, discriminating against both Buddhism and Taoism, especially Buddhism. On seven occasions, he called on the poeple to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, but it was all in vain. He also ordered his ministers to debate the priority, depth, differences, and similarities between Buddhism and Taoism, intending to debase and abolish Buddhism. However, each school of thought presented justifications and attacked the other fiercely, and no decisive conclusion could be reached. In 574 AD (the third year of the Jiande Reign), Emperor Wu-di invited Taoist Zhang Bin and Śramaṇa Zhi-xuan to debate, but neither could defeat the other. In this case, he ordered that both Buddhism and Taoism be clamped down, forcing more than two million śramaṇa and Taoist monks to be secularized, and distributing their property to his ministers, and temples and pagodas to princes. Three years later, he dispatched troops against the North Qi dynasty, and ordered that Buddhism be abolished in that region. About three million śramaṇa were forced to be secularized, and more than 40,000 Buddhist temples were converted to civilian residences. Besides, Buddhist images were burnt down, and Buddhist property was confiscated. Those were the early two of the four large-scale Buddhism-suppressing events, which are known as "Three-Wu and One-Zong" in the history of Chinese Buddhism.

The move to suppress Buddhism by the two emperors of the North dynasties highlighted the contradictions between autocratic rulers and Buddhism. For example, the expansion of Buddhism curbed the recruitment of military forces by the governments; this brought into the open the conflicts between Buddhism and both Confucianism and Taoism, and the development of such conflicts was also closely related to the beliefs of individual supreme rulers. Soon after his enthronement in succession to Emperor Taiwu-di, Emperor Wencheng-di of the North Wei dynasty gave a clear directive to revive Buddhism. After the death of Emperor Wu-di of the North Zhou dynasty, Emperor Xuan-di allowed the revival of Buddhism as soon as he ascended the throne, and soon after that, he likewise issued clear edicts to restore Buddhism across the territory that he ruled. These events indicated that the supreme arbitrary monarchial power had played an enormous role in the flourishing or suppression of Buddhism; on the other hand, they showed that there were both accommodations and contradictions between Buddhism and the autocratic power.

4. Uprisings of śramaṇa. With the worsening exploitation and oppression of despotism and the growing hierarchy of monastic order, lower-runged monastic members could not endure various bonded services any more, and an uprising ensued. In 481 AD

(the fifth year of Taihe Reign), Śramaṇa Fa-xiu planned an uprising at Pengcheng. In 490 AD (the fourteenth year of Taihe Reign), Śramaṇa Sima Hui from Pingyuan Prefecture assembled the masses for an uprising. In 509 AD (the second year of Yongping Reign of Emperor Xuanwu-di), Śramaṇa Liu Huiwang from Jingzhou (northwest of today's Jingzhou, Gansu Province) launched an uprising. In 510 AD (the third year of Yongping Reign), Śramaṇa Liu Guangxiu from Taizhou began a revolt. In 514 AD (the third year of Yanchang Reign) and in 515 AD (the fourth year of Yanchang Reign), Śramaṇa Liu Sengshao from Youzhou (present Beijing) and Śramaṇa Fa-qing from Jizhou, respectively, launched an uprising. The insurgents seized cities and slaughtered officials. Further, they killed some senior monks and burnt down a few Buddhist temples. These insurgent monks were mostly peasants, and most of them had entered monasteries to escape the tyranny. They did not actually believe in Buddhism, but embracing Buddhism was their only way out at that time. They used Buddhism to oppose the autocratic tyranny of the North Wei dynasty and monastic landlords, which indicated the complexity and manifoldness of the roles of Buddhism.

1.2.2 Sui Dynasty (581–618), Tang Dynasty (618–907), and Five Dynasties (907–979) Period

The Sui and Tang dynasties were a period of political unity, strong economy, and prosperity—an age when Buddhist sects emerged and reached their summit, and a transitional stage when Buddhism began to gradually decline. The political unity of the country entailed that of Buddhism. The replacement of the Sui dynasty by the Tang dynasty, as well as the relationship between Buddhist leadership and different political ruling groups in sequence, resulted in the establishment of different Buddhist sects. The rulers of the Sui and Tang dynasties faced triple ideological conflicts with Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, and this situation, which had been brewing for a long period, came to a head. Generally, most rulers of these two dynasties adopted a policy of supporting and utilizing all the three schools of thought. However, Buddhism found its current standing and future to be directly influenced by the developing political situations, conflicting economic interests, triple confrontations between the three schools, and individual supreme rulers' beliefs. Buddhism contradicted the ruling classes in various ways while it received enormous support from the latter, which thus led to the Buddhism-banning movement by Emperor Wu-zong (841–846 AD) of the Tang dynasty and the oppression of Buddhism by Emperor Shi-zong (954–959 AD) of the Later Zhou dynasty (951–960 AD) during the Five dynasties period. Buddhism prospered on account of support from the rulers, and could not recover after setbacks because of their oppression. Accordingly, in the tussle between Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, the different propositions of literati and officials to oppose or support Buddhism had vividly manifested the complexity of ideological struggles.

1. Buddhist sects and Sui and Tang dynasties. The parents of Emperor Wen-di (581–604 AD), also known as Yang Jian, of the Sui dynasty, were so devoted to Buddhism

that the infant prince was delivered in a Buddhist nunnery and brought up by a nun named Zhi-xian. Taking advantage of his special Buddhist background, Yang Jian disseminated the message that "My enthronement was under Buddhism." Yang Jian who had befriended Ling-zang, a monk specialized in vinaya before he was enthroned, praised Ling-zang saying, I, a humble disciple, am the emperor in the secular world, but you, the master of vinaya, are a king of śramaṇa…You, the Master, help people do good deeds, and I, a disciple, forbid people to commit bad ones. We are different in name, but actually we are doing the same thing" (Biography of Ling-zang, Vol. 21, *Sequel to The Biography of Prominent Monks*). During his reign, Emperor Wen-di of the Sui dynasty allowed about 240,000 male and female Buddhists tonsured; he had more than two million Buddha statues carved and more than 5,000 pagodas built all over the country. Moreover, to redeem his previous vow, he demanded that local authorities worship the images of Zhi-xian within pagodas. It was out of a political need that Emperor Wen-di energetically encouraged Buddhism, and he once gave an edict to "promote Buddhism and edify the perplexed." Buddhism was advocated as an ideological tool to rule the people. Emperor Yang-di (604–618 AD) of the Sui dynasty, namely, Yang Guang, ascended to the imperial throne by murdering his father Emperor Wen-di and his crowned elder brother. In the eyes of Confucians, he was a wanton tyrant who had committed patricide and regicide, and was more evil than his worst congeners in the history of China. So, he went all out to sanctify himself by means of Buddhist sutras and by a monk Zhi-yi (538–597 AD), founder of the Tiantai School. The Tiantai School was established with the support of the supreme rulers of the Chen dynasty of the South dynasties and those of the Sui dynasty. Both emperors and ministers of the Chen dynasty had sent Zhi-yi as many as 30 to 40 edicts and letters, and allocated the taxation of Tiantai County to the temples of Zhi-yi. After the fall of the Chen dynasty, Zhi-yi turned to "uphold the territory of the Great Sui dynasty." Zhi-yi had an extremely close relation with Emperor Yang-di. Much before he was enthroned, Yang Guang had taken Bodhisattva vows from Zhi-yi, and was called "Bodhisattva in General." In the *Mahaparinirvana Sutra*, there is a passage about King Ajatasatru who committed patricide and regicide so that he could ascend the throne, but he was judged not guilty. More than that, the *Ajaseajuketsu* (*Prophecy of Buddhahood for King Ajatashatru*) *Sutra* even predicted that King Ajatasatru would certainly gain his Buddhahood in the future. In his *Comments to Amitayur-dhyana Sutra*, Zhi-yi designedly made a special analogy with the story of King Ajatasatru, propagating that a retribution for the pre-existing harms must be paid despite the close relation as father and son, and that an ultimate expediency was characterized by unnaturalness and was incomparable with the common evils in the world. Thus, he suggested that Emperor Yang's usurping the throne had been destined, and was thus necessary and reasonable. It was indeed a fantastic political use of Buddhism to defend patricide and regicide.

The Tang dynasty lasted for approximately 290 years, and witnessed the enthronement of about 20 emperors. Among these, Emperor Tai-zong prescribed in his edict that Taoists were superior to Buddhist ones; Empress Wu Ze-tian (690–705 AD) did the opposite, and Emperor Rui-zong (710–712 AD) issued an edict demanding that Buddhism and Taoism

be treated equally. Besides these three emperors, except Emperor Wu-zong who opposed Buddhism, most emperors of the Tang dynasty attached either more or less importance to taking advantage of Buddhism. These emperors made use of Buddhism in different ways, but they had a common basic starting point. As contemporary Li Jie observed,

> Now the society has gone wrong, and people have been worried. Without Buddhism to make them law-abiding, the courageous will be pushed to fight, and the intelligent will calm down to scheme. Consequently, the rabble will rise up successively in group (Preface of Poems at a Farewell Dinner for Zen Master Shu-yan in Tanzhou to Head for Taiyuan for Buddhist Sutras, Vol. 788, *Collected Writings of the Tang Dynasty*).

Autocratic rulers propped up Buddhism in order to take advantage of Buddhism. In doing so, they intended to ameliorate people's sufferings, subdue their struggle and morale, make them law abiding and reconciled to their fates, and prevent peasant uprisings.

Li Yuan, Emperor Gao-zu (618–626 AD) of the Tang dynasty, once took over and used the Xing-guo Temple and the Asoka Temple as barracks before he led the revolt in Taiyuan; and Jing-hui, a contemporary monk, encouraged Li Yuan to follow the ordinance of Heaven to become an emperor. Li Shimin, Emperor Tai-zong (626–649 AD) of the Tang dynasty, did not believe in Buddhism at all, which was evident in his remarking "As for Buddhism, it is not my choice," his placing Taoism before Buddhism, and his attempting to persuade Xuan-zang (602–664 AD) into being secularized. But having noticed that Buddhism was helpful in consolidating the dynasty, he actively supported it. Emperor Tai-zong caused much bloodshed in war, and had single handedly killed a thousand people. Later, he issued decrees to set up Buddhist temples in previous battle fields, pretending to release the dead from their sufferings and bring them happiness. However, he was actually deluding the public. The Mind-only School established by Xuan-zang and his disciple Kui-ji was set up with the support from Emperor Tai-zong and his enthroned son Emperor Gao-zong.

After the death of Emperor Gao-zong, Emperors Zhong-zong and Rui-zong were enthroned in succession. But within a year, Wu Ze-tian seized power and assumed the role of a regent. Wu's mother Yang had been a member of the Sui dynasty, and was very devoted to Buddhism. Wu Ze-tian had been brought up in a Buddhist family. She entered the imperial palace at age 14; after the death of Emperor Tai-zong, she was tonsured to be a nun; but later, she was called back by Emperor Gao-zong. Having put her talent and tricks to good use, she seized the throne and became an empress—the only female emperor in the history of China. Professing to be a "Disciple of the Buddha" and a "female Bodhisattva," she made the best use of Buddhism to vindicate her imperial status, and quoted Buddhist doctrines to justify her political position. Likewise, Buddhist monks and nuns took advantage of Wu Ze-tian's family tradition of Buddhist faith to recover their power and position that they had lost since the founding of the Tang dynasty. Confucianism forbade women to take part in political affairs, to the effect that a queen or an empress could only be engaged in silkworm

husbandry and weaving. For example, the *Counterfeited Book of History with Kong Anguo's Commentaries* says, "A family would break up if a hen crowed in place of a rooster; and a state would be ruined if a woman seized her man's power." Thus, there was much opposition to Wu Ze-tian serving as emperor. So, she had to invoke Buddhist spells and prophecies to justify her special position. Early Buddhism despised women as Confucianism did, but after a constant evolvement, Mahāyāna classics began to contain the doctrine that a woman could be ordained Chakravartin (Wheel-Turning Sagely King) and even gain Buddhahood. For example, the *Mahamegha Sutra* translated by Dharma-raksa of the Later Liang dynasty said that the Buddha had told Clear Light Devakanya to reject her heavenly form and be reincarnated in a female body, and that she had been expected to be a queen ruling a territory and edify the beings over there. It also depicted that after the death of King Deng-cheng (等乘王) of the City of Ripening Paddy (谷熟城) in Southern Sindhu, his daughter Zeng-zhang (增长) was enthroned to succeed him and ruled the territory with force. All these could be used as purported prophecies by Wu Ze-tian. Xue Huaiyi, Fa-ming, and others particularly offered Wu Ze-tian the *Mahamegha Sutra* with new commentaries, which made a cunning analogy asserting that Wu Ze-tian was a reincarnated Maitreya and ought to be a lord in Jambu-dvipa in place of the Tang dynasty.[2] Wu Ze-tian published this sutra together with its commentaries as a sign of her ordainment, announced a revolution against the Tang dynasty, and changed the title of the country to Zhou, calling herself "Golden-wheel Emperor" and "Sacred Mother and Divine Emperor." Wu Ze-tian did her utmost to utilize Buddhist sutras for propaganda and to justify her newly gained position; thus, Buddhist sutras played a special role. In addition, Wu Ze-tian had single handedly encouraged the founding of the Hua-yan School. Fa-zang (643–712 AD), founder of the Hua-yan School, had originally been a monk of the Taiyuan Temple, a private temple of the Wu Family. Later, he mentored five emperors (Emperors Gao-zong, Zhong-zong, Rui-zong, Xuan-zong, and Empress Wu), and was revered and honored as a high official at the level of third grade. Once when an earthquake occurred during a lecture being conducted by Fa-zang on the *Avatamsaka Sutra*, he immediately reported it to Empress Wu, and the latter grabbed the opportunity to promote Buddhism by declaring that the Bodhisattva had shown his presence. Thus, the empress and the monk co-operated with each other, sanctifying Empress Wu's Zhou dynasty.

The Zen School had close ties with the ruling classes. Shen-xiu (606–706 AD), representative of the North Zen Sect, was once interviewed by Empress Wu, who honored him by "kneeling down in person," and thus giving him the highest respect. Hui-neng (638–713 AD) of the South Zen Sect (the actual founder of the Zen School) had insisted on living in forests and among ordinary people in south China. More than 40 years after Hui-neng's death, the An-Shi Rebellion broke out, and the Tang dynasty fell into a financial predicament. Shen-hui (668– or 686–760 AD), a follower of Hui-neng, set up vinaya platforms to ordain monks and nuns, collecting funds from pilgrims for military subsidies, and thus gained the respect of Emperors Su-zong and

[2]Namely, Jambu-dvipa in the South, one of the four continents in Buddhism.

De-zong. Later, when Emperor Wu-zong suppressed Buddhism, the Zen School managed to survive and spread owing to its adherence to residing in forests, keeping its distance from governments, and its popularity among the masses.

2. Suppression of Buddhism by Emperor Wu-zong (840–846 AD) of the Tang Dynasty and Emperor Shi-zong (955–959 AD) of the Later Zhou Dynasty (951–960 AD) during the Five Dynasties (907–960 AD). From 842 to 845 AD (the second to the fifth year of the Hui-chang Reign of the Tang dynasty), Emperor Wu-zong gave decrees to dismantle Buddhist temples and compel Buddhist monks and nuns to be secularized. This movement destroyed more than 4,600 large- and mid-sized Buddhist temples, and more than 40,000 small-sized ones; secularized more than 260,000 tonsured Buddhists; liberated 150,000 male and female slaves; and confiscated hundreds of thousands of fertile farmlands under the ownership of Buddhist temples. Monastic economy was in very bad shape. Simultaneously, many Buddhist classics, especially the commentaries to the *Avatamsaka Sutra* and the *Saddharmapundarika Sutra*, had been destroyed or lost. Sects including the Hua-yan and Tian-tai schools thus gradually declined. The suppression of Buddhism by Emperor Wu-zong of the Tang dynasty had profound economic and ideological foundations, whose underlying purpose was to diminish the economic power of Buddhist monasteries, for "The Buddhist order enlarges day after day, and Buddhist temples receive increasing homage. Exhausting labor resources in the construction of monasteries, and snatching interests by the decoration of gold and treasures …spoiling laws and harming, this religion has been the worst of all" (Biography of Emperor Wu-zong, Upper Col., Vol. 18, *Old History of the Tang dynasty*). The second factor was the faith of Emperor Wu-zong as an individual, who believed in Taoism, trusted Taoist Zhao Guizhen (?–846), and wanted to become immortalized. "Emperor Wu-zong was committed to following the example of immortals, and Guizhen took the chance to defame Buddhism, saying that it was not Chinese teaching and should be eradicated. The emperor agreed with him, and ordered to discard monks and nuns all over the country" (Homage to Taoism, Vol. 50, *Compiled State Regulations of the Tang dynasty*). Emperor Wu-zong's banning Buddhism was directly related to Taoist Zhao Guizhen's slanders, and it was a manifestation of struggles between Buddhism and Taoism.

Later, in 955 (the second year of the Xiande Reign of the Later Zhou dynasty during the Five dynasties), Emperor Shi-zong of the Later Zhou dynasty resolvedly culled and regulated Buddhists. According to his edicts, a monastery must have a quota allocated by the state, otherwise, it would be banned by any means; a person must go through a sutra reading test before he was tonsured, and the ordination of any monk and nun without authorization was forbidden; and all Buddhist statues made of copper would be confiscated to forge coins and enrich the treasury. These two events of suppression against Buddhism, together with the two suppressing events during the North dynasties, were known as "Three-Wu and One-Zong" Buddhism suppression in the history of Buddhism, and Buddhists called them "Calamities of Buddhism." They were powerful

coercive movements launched by the supreme rulers to demolish or regulate Buddhism. The first three events were similar in nature; they were all intended to radically destroy Buddhism. The third was the fiercest and most widespread, which dealt the heaviest blow to Buddhism. The fourth movement was different from the earlier ones, and was somewhat characteristic of rectification. However, due to the last oppression, Buddhism in North China that had managed to narrowly survive now further declined.

3. Opposition to and advocacy of Buddhism among literati and officials. During the Sui and Tang dynasties, some literati and officials strongly opposed Buddhism, while some others used all means possible to advocate it. In the days of Emperor Gao-zu of the Tang dynasty, Imperial Astronomer Fu Yi (555–639 AD) submitted 7 memorandums in succession to the emperor, asking for the abolishment of Buddhism. One of his reasons was that tonsured Buddhists "eat the bread of idleness and dress themselves differently to avoid tax services." Not producing any profits, they wasted wealth and decreased taxation in the state. Second, they "translated barbarian books into Chinese and indulged themselves in personation." The Buddha was a god of Western barbarians, not an orthodox one of Chinese. Thirdly, monks "abandon civilizations by leaving home, and betray their fathers by fleeing away from them. They confront the Son of Heaven regardless of their humbleness as ordinary men, and go against their parents despite their obligation as descendants." All these people had violated traditional Chinese ethics about loyalty and filial piety. In addition, he suggested abolishing Buddhism. "Now, get today's monks and nuns married, there will be more than 100,000 new families procreating offspring. With ten years fosterage and ten years more education, it naturally will benefit the state and strengthen the defense forces. In this way, the territories will be free of being nibbled, and the ordinary people will revere Your Majesty and appreciate your generosity" (Quoted from Biography of Fu Yi, Vol. 79, *Old History of the Tang dynasty*). Evidently, Fu Yi put up his proposition just to enrich food supply, strengthen defense forces, intensify the ethics of loyalty and filial piety, and consolidate the political dominion of the Tang dynasty. In the days of Emperor Xuan-zong (712–756 AD), Premier Yao Chong (650–721 AD) studied the history of Buddhism in China, proposing to eradicate it. He cited Yao Xing (394–416 AD), Xiao Yan (Emperor Wu-di of the Liang dynasty), and others who were devoted to Buddhism and had so many temples built. But "their precious temples are nowhere to be seen now since their states do not exist anymore," not to mention Emperor Zhong-zong and Wu Sansi (?–707 AD) of the Tang dynasty who perished in succession despite their devotion to Buddhism (See details in Biography of Yao Chong, Vol. 96, *Old History of the Tang dynasty*). In Yao Chong's opinion, complete embracement of Buddhism by rulers was the cause of ruin of their dominion. Han Yu (768–824 AD), a famous litterateur and thinker of the late Tang dynasty, continued the thought of Fu Yi and others, arguing against Buddhism with respect to state wealth, barbarian discrimination, and Confucian ethics. In his article "On the Origin of Dao," Han Yu pointed out that Buddhism was a barbarian culture, and monks and nuns wasted social wealth and violated the Confucian ethics on loyalty and filial piety. He argued to "humanize those people, burn down their

literature, change their temples to civil residences, and illuminate the Way of the previous great kings to edify them"; in other words, to annihilate Buddhism through administrative means and forces.

Supporters also abounded among the literati and officials of the Tang dynasty, including dignitaries Yuan Zai (?–777 AD), Du Hongjian (708–769 AD), Wang Wei (701–761 AD), and Wang Jin (700–781 AD). Among these people, the brothers Wang Wei and Wang Jin were particularly ardent followers of Buddhism. Wang Wei "abstained from meat and finery for long in his old age," "burnt incense and sat reclusively when he was back from the court, committed to meditation and Buddhist recitation" (Biography of Wang Wei, Vol. 190, *Old History of the Tang Dynasty*). Wang Jin, who was promoted to the post of premier, "thought that the long fortune of a state just came out of good retribution, which had been destined by karma" (Biography of Wang Jin, Vol. 118, *Old History of the Tang Dynasty*). Convinced that the fate of a state was dominated by the karma of promoting Buddhism, Wang Jin went all out to persuade Emperor Dai-zong (780–805 AD) into setting up a Buddhist ritual place within the imperial palace, "building Ullambana basins in a Buddhist ritual place within the imperial palace and decorating them with gold. That cost a million" (ibid). The political views of Liu Zongyuan (773–819 AD) and Liu Yuxi (772–842 AD) were divergent from those held by Han Yu. The former two argued for reformation, but Han disagreed. Their views on Buddhism were also diametrically opposite. Han was a radical opponent of Buddhism, while Liu Zongyuan and Liu Yuxi favored Buddhism. After the failure of the Yongzhen Reform, the two reformers faced several setbacks in their official careers and were frustrated with politics; therefore, they strained to comfort themselves and manintain mental balance through Buddhism. Liu Zongyuan believed that Śākyamuni, Confucius, and Laozi expounded similar teachings, and Buddhist doctrines were consistent with the *Analects of Confucius* and *The Book of Changes*. Unlike Han Yu who stressed that Confucianism and Buddhism were opposites, Liu Zongyuan and Liu Yuxi tried hard to conciliate the contradictions.

As discussed earlier, some literati and officials opposed Buddhism from the point of view that Buddhism went against the building up of sufficient defense forces and food supply and violated feudal ethics, and was thus unfavorable for the consolidation of existing regimes. A few officials advocated Buddhism because they needed to make use of its theory of karma to justify established social orders; and others were sympathetic to Buddhism because it had offered a spiritual shelter for those who had met with frustrations and setbacks in their official careers and life. These indicated the complex relationship between Buddhism and politics.

1.2.3 Song (960–1279 AD), Yuan (1271–1368 AD), Ming (1368–1644 AD), and Qing (1636–1912 AD) Dynasties Period

Since the Song dynasty, Buddhism went through gradual decline, and was not held in high social regard. In general, it was merely employed as an auxiliary tool of autocratic ideology. However, Tibetan Buddhism, a branch of Chinese Buddhism, began to prosper

in Tibet, Mongolia, and other places. The Yuan dynasty valued Buddhism highly and it formed a major part of the politics. A few prominent monks during this period played important roles in policy decisions. The Ming and Qing dynasties utilized Buddhism to carry out their minority policies and perform their diplomatic activities. During the Song and Ming dynasties, Buddhism had also been used by peasant leaders as a tool to call on and organize peasant uprisings.

1. An ideological tool to guarantee imperial dominion. Zhao Kuangyin, Emperor Tai-zu (960–976 AD) of the Song dynasty, adopted a different policy from that of the Later Zhou dynasty—he enforced his power by protecting Buddhism. Emperor Tai-zu sent 157 people, including monk Xing-qin, to India for Buddhist teachings, and gave instructions to carve the print blocks of Tripitaka. Zhao Ji, Emperor Hui-zong (1100–1125 AD) of the Song dynasty, was a devoted follower of Taoism. Accordingly, he ordered the incorporation of Buddhism into Taoism, and conversion of Buddhist temples for Taoist uses. However, the situation was soon reversed. Since the South Song dynasty (1127–1279 AD), different dynasties had ensured that although Buddhism was supported and utilized, it remained constrained.

Zhu Yuanzhang, Emperor Tai-zu (1368–1398 AD) of the Ming dynasty, used to be a monk at the Huangjue Temple in today's Fengyang County, Anhui Province, and it was the first instance in the history of China for a monk to be enthroned. Zhu Yuanzhang was clear in his views of Buddhism—although he was passionate about it, he knew very well the two sides to it. He believed that if "Buddhism is promoted…everyone will do good at home, there cannot but be everlasting peace," (Vol. 2, *Continuation to the Outline of Buddhist Annals*) and that Buddhism "reinforces secular laws and illuminates the Way" (ibid). He personally ordained which sutras monks should preach and how they should recite the scriptures and perform Buddhist ceremonies for others. He promoted the idea that the founding of the Ming dynasty was under the Buddha; and in the early years of the dynasty, he organized Buddhist congregations annually to pray to the Buddha for blessings, both for individuals and the state. In this manner, he tried to sanctify his imperial power and gain the support of the people. In addition, he selected prominent monks to become mentors of the princes, teach his descendants Buddhist kindness and sympathy, and warn them against killing. In doing so, he wished to prevent faction and rebellion and enforce the dominion of the Ming dynasty. On the other hand, Zhu had in his early days taken part in the Red Scarf Army peasant uprising (1351–1354 AD), inspired by the faith in the imminent advent of the Buddha Maitreya. Later, however, he gradually developed his own power by defeating separatist forces in south China and got ready to attack the Yuan dynasty in the north and unify the whole country. Immediately later, he turned around and began to publicly condemn the White Lotus Society as "evil magic," and stigmatized the Red Scarf Army as "enormously dishonorable." In this way, he betrayed the peasant uprising, and became an agent of the landlord class. He was afraid that some monks would revolt like him someday, and that secret societies would become potential political threats against the Ming dynasty. So, he assigned Confucians

to high positions to govern the country, and ordained a series of limitative regulations against Buddhism, putting monks and nuns under the dominion of Confucian ethics in case Buddhism developed randomly. Through a newly established Sangha system, he demanded that tonsured Buddhists reside calmly deep in the mountainous regions, expecting them "not to intervene with lay people"; in this way, he separated Buddhism from society. To summarize, he left no stone unturned to politically prevent Buddhism from endangering the power of the Ming dynasty.

Zhu Li, Emperor Cheng-zu (1402–1424 AD), launched a coup with the help of his monk consultant Dao-yan [Yao Guangxiao] (1335–1418 AD), seized power from Emperor Hui-di (1377–1402 AD) and enthroned himself. Machinating for the imperial throne as a prince who ruled a vassal state, he also made use of Buddhism to vindicate himself. He contrived the fake *First Rarest Sutra of Great Merits Spoken by the Buddha in Dream* and a lengthy preface, both in the name of his wife Empress Xu. According to his story, Empress Xu met Kwan-yin Bodhisattva in her dream, and the latter predicted a calamity and offered her a *Sutra of Great Merits* to relieve it. Also in the dream, the bodhisattva foretold that "Your Princess will mother the whole world." Later, Emperor Hui-di tried to weaken the power of vassal states, Zhu Li thus justified that this was the abovementioned "calamity," and with that he launched the "Revolution to Pacify Calamity." Zhu Li, now Emperor Cheng-zu of the Ming dynasty, declared that his "pacifying calamity" was the intent of the Buddha, and the enthronement of himself and Empress Xu was both under the Bodhisattva and the Buddha. In this way, he publicized the idea that his imperial dominion came out of the Buddha, fabricating consensus for the legitimacy of his succession to the imperial throne. After the death of Empress Xu, three sons of Emperor Cheng-zu wrote postscripts for the *Sutra of Great Merits*, paying tributes to their imperial mother. In doing so, they hoped to cement the unity within the imperial family. Emperor Cheng-zu composed in person thousands of pieces of Buddhist music, and spread them in the palace and society. These pieces of music mostly promoted the ideas of loyalty, filial piety, and karma, and stressed that "the lack of loyalty and filial piety just means the utmost evil," and that "the retribution will come true in no time in spite of the generosity of Heaven." These Buddhist music pieces were popular and could be sung, and thus became very influential.

Emperors Shun-zhi (1644–1661 AD), Kang-xi (1661–1722 AD), and Yong-zheng (1722–1735 AD) of the early Qing dynasty had, to some extent, an interest and belief in the Zen School. In particular, Yong-zheng boastfully proclaimed himself a master of Zen. He compiled 19 volumes of *Imperially Selected Analects*, spending a great deal of time on preaching the way of Chan. In particular, the twelfth volume *The Quotations of Layman Yuanming the He-shuo Prince Yong*, which was a compilation of selected quotations, was written when he was still a prince. However, in their evening years, Yong-zheng, especially Qian-long (1735–1796 AD), regarded Confucianism as orthodoxy, and reviewed both Buddhism and Taoism as heterodoxies. They screened and corrected both Buddhism and Taoism, thereby curtailing their development. Since the reign of Emperor Dao-guang (1831–1861 AD), the nation had begun to suffer, and Buddhism further declined accordingly.

2. Prominent monks' involvement in the founding of the Yuan dynasty. The Yuan dynasty had lasted for almost one hundred years, and all the emperors of this dynasty attached great importance to Buddhism. Genghis Khan (1206–1227 AD), leader of the Mongols, took the initiative of this tradition, and Kublai, Emperor Shi-zu (1260–1294 AD) of the Yuan dynasty, paid even higher homage to Tibetan Buddhism. Since the reign of Kublai, every emperor regarded dignitary monks from Tibet as imperial mentors, and had to receive vinaya from the latter before he was enthroned. In this way, the hierophant had actually become a spiritual leader. Genghis Khan and the emperors of the Yuan dynasty also thought highly of monks from other regions. For example, Yelü Chucai (1190–1244 AD), who had an imperial parentage of the Liao dynasty (916–1125 AD), was a scholar of the Zen School who called himself Layman Zhanran. He followed Genghis Khan to the Western regions on an expedition, served for nearly 30 years during the reigns of both Genghis Khan and Ogodei Khan (1229–1241 AD), and was promoted to the post of premier. He had made great contributions to the founding of the Yuan dynasty, becoming a famous politician in the history of China. His teacher Xing-xiu of Wansong (1166–1246 AD) was a very famous Zen master of the Kin dynasty (1115–1234 AD), and was of the opinion that the three schools of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism should be integrated. He often advised Yulü Chucai to govern the country using Confucianism, and cultivate the mind using Buddhism, for which he was highly praised by the Buddhists monks. Another example was Liu Bingzhong (1216–1274 AD), who had been a monk when he was young. Later, he was highly appreciated by Kublai, and was thus summoned to the latter's office to take part in important military and political affairs. Following this, he restored his family name Liu, and assumed the name Bingzhong. When Kublai was enthroned, Liu Bingzhong advised him to name the state Yuan, and the laws and standards that he drafted, including court ceremonies and administrative systems, were all observed as the political institution by the Yuan dynasty.

3. A tie to cement national unity and enhance foreign exchange. The Ming dynasty gave special treatment to the upper classes of Tibetan Buddhism, favoring them with titles such as imperial mentors or national hierophants. Emperor Cheng-zu of the Ming dynasty dispatched four senior ministers to Tibet to invite Tsongkhapa (1357–1419 AD), founder of the Yellow Sect, to Beijing. The ageing Tsongkhapa, however, sent his senior disciple Shakya Yeshe to Beijing on his behalf, and Emperor Cheng-zu bestowed on Shakya Yeshe the title of Dharma King of Great Kindness. In addition, the Ming dynasty granted Tibetan monks official titles (Sangha officials) and promoted their ranks, assuring the political and economic privileges of religious leaders to safeguard and pacify remote borders. This "restraining" policy had certain calming effects. The Qing dynasty continued the Buddhist policy of attaching great importance to the political and religious affairs in Tibet. In 1793 (the fifty-eighth year of the Qianlong Reign), the Qing dynasty constituted 29 articles (i.e., *The 29-Article Imperially-Approved Ordinance for the More Efficient Governing of Tibet*), that reinforced the system of combining politics and religion in Tibet. All the monasteries and lamas in Tibet were within the jurisdiction of the Lifan Yuan

(Colonial Affairs Office) of the Qing dynasty. To continue peaceful diplomatic policy and deepen the friendship with neighboring countries, the Ming dynasty pioneered the tradition of appointing monks as envoys. Emperor Tai-zu of the Ming dynasty assigned in succession monks Hui-tan and Zong-le to lead missions to the Western Regions and visit Sinhala (present day, Sri Lanka), India, and other countries, and monk Zhi-guang, his disciple Hui-bian, and others to carry imperially sealed letters and gifts on a diplomatic mission to Nepal. Emperors Cheng-zu, Hui-di, and others similarly sent monks to Japan. These monks were sent abroad as envoys of peace, enhancing the understanding and friendship between the people of China and neighboring countries.

4. A tool to call on and organize peasantry in uprisings. Owing to its spread throughout China, Buddhism had exerted complicated influences upon the lower classes, and gradually became a propagandizing and organizing tool for peasant insurgents. The most outstanding example was that Maitreya Bodhisattva had become a symbolic image of insurgent peasant leaders.

Maitreya was said to be one of the Bodhisattvas in Buddhism. The *Maitreya's Ascending Sutra* says that he lives in the Heaven named Tusita, while the *Maitreya's Descending Sutra* asserts that he would be reincarnated from the Tusita Heaven to this world and succeed Śākyamuni to be the Buddha. Buddhism spread among the upper classes and directly or indirectly served the feudal dynasties when it was first introduced into China; so, in the eyes of the lower classes, Śākyamuni, as the founder of Buddhism and a supreme spiritual leader, was in favor of the dynasties. Therefore, they turned towards Maitreya Bodhisattva both emotionally and ideologically, looking forward to the prophecy that "Maitreya will descend to this world and always acts as a leader" (Inscription for the Pagoda Built by All the People in the Town, Vol. 34, *Selected Quintessence of Metal and Stone Carvings*). The story that Maitreya would be reincarnated in this world to succeed Śākyamuni also met the propagandistic and political need of the lower classes in their efforts to overthrow the feudal dynasties.

Since the Southern and Northern dynasties, there had been more and more Maitreya stone statues and murals in Buddhist temples, and the belief in Maitreya had gradually become popular and pervasive among the people. The "reincarnation of Maitreya in this world" had been regarded as a gospel of salvation by the lower classes. Maitreya belief and Śākyamuni belief had become two tendencies, which respectively represented the interests and wishes of the ruled and the ruling classes.

Ever since the Sui and Tang dynasties, some peasants had invoked the reincarnation of Maitreya to revolt. In 610 AD (January in Chinese Lunar Calendar in the sixth year of Daye Reign of Emperor Yang-di of the Sui dynasty), "Tens of bandits, all in white, entered through the Jianguo Gate, holding burning incenses and flowers in hands and calling themselves Maitreya Buddha, and sentries at the gate all kowtowed. They snatched sticks from the guards and were ready to riot. Prince Qi, whose given name was Jian, came forward and beheaded them all. Following this, an intensive search was carried out throughout the

capital, and more than 1,000 families were implicated and punished (Biography of Emperor Yang-di, Vol. 3, *History of the Sui dynasty*). Soon after that, Song Zixian from Tang County (present day Tang County in Hebei) and Śramaṇa Xiang Haiming from Fufeng (present day Fengxiang County in Shaanxi) "also called themselves reincarnated Maitreya," secretly planned insurrections. Many peasant uprisings all over the country at the end of the Sui dynasty converged into an enormous uprising that overthrew the tyrannical Sui dynasty.

During the Kaiyuan Reign of Emperor Xuan-zong of the Tang dynasty, a political rumor gained momentum, "Śākyamuni is finished, a new Buddha (referring to the descending Maitreya) will appear. The Li family will come to an end, and the Liu family will rise" (Part 2 of Evil Absurdity, Vol. 922, *Old Tortoises in the Imperial Library*). In 715 AD (the third year of Kaiyuan Reign), Emperor Xuan-zong issued the Decree to Ban Evil Rumors, "One example is some people in white disheveled hair. Pretending to be reincarnated Maitreya, they disseminated evil rumors, assembled the rabble, professed Buddhism, and bandied absurd prophecies" (Vol. 113, *Collected Imperial Decrees of the Tang Dynasty*). The message of Maitreya's reincarnation had been used to call on and assemble the masses, and this had become a serious threat to the Tang dynasty.

During the Qingli Reign of Emperor Ren-zong of the Northern Song dynasty, Wang Ze, formerly a peasant and later a junior officer in the army of the dynasty, made use of the secret Maitreya belief that "Śākyamuni has declined and retreated and Maitreya Buddha ought to dominate the world," disseminating the idea of transforming the society. He mobilized peasants and soldiers in Bei, Ji, and other prefectures to plan an insurgence, and got in touch with the peasants and soldiers in De, Qi, and other prefectures taking advantage of the Maitreya belief. They launched the revolt and established a state called Anyang. Wang Ze's uprising finally failed because of the suppression by the Song dynasty; however, it did succeed in rendering a heavy blow to the rulers.

The ruling classes began to collapse during the late Yuan dynasty, and more frequently than before, the peasantry made use of the tale of Maitreya's reincarnation to gain strength and launch repeated insurgencies. As early as in 1325 (the second year of Taiding Reign), Zhao Chousi, Guo Bodhisattva, and others from Xizhou Prefecture, Henan, coined the slogan "Maitreya Buddha ought to be enthroned" to mobilize peasants to overthrow the Yuan dynasty, precluding the peasant insurgences at the end of the Yuan dynasty. In 1337 (the third year of Zhiyuan Reign), Bang Hu from Henan assembled the masses by burning incenses, and the insurrectionists "held banderols with the image of Maitreya" and were ready to rise up. In 1351 (the eleventh year of Zhizheng Reign), Han Shantong promoted that "The world is deep in turmoil, and Maitreya Buddha has ascended," and peasants along the Yangtze and Huai rivers followed. Liu Futong, who regarded Han Shantong as a spiritual leader, contacted and organized peasants by means of the White Lotus Society, leading hundreds of thousands of peasants to fight against the Yuan dynasty. Meanwhile, Xu Shouhui and Peng Yingyu (Monk Peng) also invoked the White Lotus Society to organize peasant uprising, occupying places around present day Hubei and Hunan. These two peasant armies were known as Red Scarf Armies or Red Armies because they wrapped their heads with red

scarves, and they were also called Incense Troops because they both had faith in Maitreya Buddha and assembled the masses by burning incenses. The Red Scarf Armies fought bravely with the troops of the Yuan dynasty, undermining its regime heavily.

Since the Sui and Tang dynasties, the peasantry, who could not stand the cruel exploitation and oppression of the ruling classes, had used the "reincarnation of Maitreya" several times to accumulate power and launch insurgencies. The tale of Maitreya Bodhisattva had always been related to the social and political changes during the Sui, Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties; in particular, it had been used by insurgent peasants, undermining the power of the Mongolian nobles. Therefore, the rulers both of the Ming and Qing dynasties were very worried about the spread of the tale of Maitreya Bodhisattva, banning and suppressing it forcefully. The law of the Ming dynasty ordained that "For those who delude and instigate people in the name of purported Maitreya Buddha or any other heterodoxy, the principals shall be hanged; and each follower shall be bastinadoed with one hundred strokes and exiled three thousand *li* away." The Qing dynasty followed suite.[3]

The fact that Buddhism had been used as an instrument for peasant leaders to mobilize and organize peasants was an important political phenomenon in China's ancient autocratic society and another vivid instance of the complexity of social roles of Buddhism.

1.3 The Social and Political Roles of Buddhist Thoughts

What roles had Buddhist thoughts, especially the important thoughts of Buddhism, played in society and politics? This is one of the questions that this chapter aims to answer. After its introduction into China, Buddhism did not exert much political influence from the period spanning the Han dynasty to the West Jin dynasty. Buddhism prospered during the East Jin dynasty to the Tang dynasty, and then gradually declined over the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing period. On the one hand, its thoughts were absorbed by the School of Principles of the Song and Ming dynasties, and played a political role through the latter. However, sometimes, it was regarded as heterodoxy, which limited its functions. This chapter omits the political functions of Buddhist thoughts from the Han dynasty to the West Jin dynasty and the period of the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties, and it outlines only the political role of Buddhist thoughts during other periods.

1.3.1 The East Jin Dynasty and Southern and Northern Dynasties Period

The major Buddhist thoughts during this period were the doctrines of prajñā, nirvana, and karma. The doctrine of prajñā was a product when Chinese Buddhist scholars accepted

[3]See Chen Yuan, Study on the Introduction of Manicheism into China, *Chen Yuan's Selected Works on History*, p. 173. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1981.

the Mādhyamika thought of Indian Buddhism and combined it with the metaphysical concepts of the Wei and Jin dynasties, mainly essence and derivatives, and existence and non-existence. The kernel concept in the doctrine of prajñā is sunya, which means that nothing has a self or substance. It took 200 years for Chinese Buddhists to grasp the concept of non-existence and no non-existence in Indian Mādhyamika, the theory of "sunya as non-reality." The doctrine of prajñā asserted that nothing was real, thinking that things were just expedient names, and thus sunya. In this way, it tried to dissuade people from discriminating and getting attached to things, and persuade them into witnessing the highest wisdom that all things were essentially characterized by neither existence nor non-existence. This doctrine of prajñā did not in reality restrain people of prominent families from adhering to ruling power, autocracy, or exploitation; instead, it disguised their greedy activities. For working people, however, the doctrine of prajñā demanded that they remain indifferent to reality, and neglect the differences between oppressing and being oppressed, exploiting, and being exploited, let alone uprising or any other struggles. Obviously, this was in the interests of the ruling classes.

Since the Jin and Liu Song dynasties, the system of distinguished families during the South dynasties had become increasingly intensified, oppression more severe, and the society more unequal. People at this time faced issues of social psychology: If ancestry could be superior or inferior, then what about human nature? If parentage was destined, were virtues and talent also inborn? A Buddhist scholar Zhu Dao-sheng, with his own realism, explained such issues in a theological form, turning from the doctrine of prajñā to that of nirvana. Zhu Dao-sheng's theory mainly expounded the Buddha-nature in nirvana. One of his major arguments was that every person had his Buddha-nature (the intrinsic basis for attaining Buddhahood), and thus could attain Buddhahood. The other was the idea of immediate enlightenment for the attainment of Buddhahood, that is, everyone could be enlightened immediately, attain the achievement of a Buddha, and reach the realm of nirvana if he witnessed the truths of Buddhism. Zhu Dao-sheng's theory promoted the equality between all living beings, and thus suggested some protest against the inequality; however, he disguised the real rigorous inequality by promoting the equality between everyone in the face of Buddha-nature, that is, the equality of minds and nature in the sense of religion. And he pacified people with a promise of Buddhahood, asking them to be obedient and believe in Buddhism, and guiding them to impractically relieving sufferings. Evidently, the practical role of nirvana doctrine was also helpful to the ruling classes.

The doctrine of karma preached that the remarks and behaviors of all living beings would bring about different retributions in the light of their good or evil nature. The retributions might come true in this life, or possibly the next one, or after a hundred or a thousand times of transmigrations. Dominated by the Buddhist law of causation, humans would be reincarnated after death to be superior or inferior living beings in accordance with the evil and good they had done in this life; in other words, they would rise to heaven or fall to hell. Buddhism taught people to transcend retributions and transmigration for their eternal liberation. For this purpose, the belief in Buddhism was especially significant; for

people of sins could erase their evils and obtain blessings once they believed in Buddhism. That was the same as saying that the Buddha could eliminate evil and bestow blessings, and that people could sell guilt and buy fortune. This theory was popular and very influential among folks. It was desirable to the despotism in the Chinese autocratic society. The rulers saw clearly the social role of the theory of karma:

> The common men and women, who are stupid, cannot be well guided either by teaching or law. Without the doctrine of gods and transmigration to drive and entice them, they would hardly avoid legal punishment (Shen Bang, *Miscellanea at the Wanping Governmental Office*, Vol. 19).

In a sense, the Buddhist thought of karma could make up for the theoretical insufficiency and legal defects of feudal autocracy; that is, as a supplementary ruling means, it could control the thought of underprivileged laborers more effectively, and thus guarantee the rule of substrate power more effectively.

1.3.2 The Period of Sui and Tang Dynasties

Buddhism prospered and many sects arose during the Sui and Tang dynasties. Some important sects at that time, including the Tiantai School, the Three-Treatise School, the Mind-only School, the Huayan School, and the Zen School, had expounded their own world views and epistemology. The following will briefly disclose the social and political roles of kernel thoughts of these sects.

The Tiantai School preached the thoughts of "Three Kinds of Contemplation in One Single Mind" and "Perfect Interfusion of Three Truths." The so-called "Three Kinds of Contemplation in One Single Mind" means that one mind could perfectly observe a thing from the three aspects of emptiness, temporariness, and the mean (the Middle Way) at the same time. According to the Tiantai School, emptiness, temporariness, and the mean did not only suggest three methods of meditation, but also the reality of all things. So, the "Three Methods of Contemplation in One Single Mind" meant to observe the true images of emptiness, temporariness, and the mean with one single mind at the same time. These three kinds of reality were also known as Three Truths. Also, according to the Tiantai School, everything was composed of both emptiness and temporariness, which were the essentiality of things and conformed to the Middle Way, that is, the mean. The threefold truth of emptiness, temporariness, and the mean was available at all levels, that is, there was no sequencial order between them; instead, they existed at the same time and did not hinder each other. So, it was also known as the "Perfect Interfusion of Three Truths" emptiness, temporariness, and the mean. The Three-Treatise School resembled the Tiantai School in these thoughts: they both emphasized emptiness and temporariness as the qualities of things, and stressed that one should not cling to them. Such theories of these two schools would certainly lead people to neglect and deviate from reality.

In the doctrine of the Mind-only School, all things were the outcome of subjective minds and consciousness, minds and consciousness were not the wisdom of Buddhism, and the Buddhahood could be attained only if such minds and consciousness were transformed into wisdom. In other words, people should change from illusion to enlightenment, that is, from usually discriminating things and clinging to them as real existences to viewing things in their real forms, to knowing things in the light of Buddhist truths. Essentially, the Mind-only School was intended to change people's simple materialism to the idea that all things were just consciousness.

The Huayan School was committed to propagandizing the proposition that "all phenomenal things are mutually unhindered and interfused," which meant no contradictions existed between any phenomena. The Huayan School preached that phenomena were the representation of the same reality, so particular things and individual phenomena were perfectly intertwined and did not obstruct each other. When it explained as such the great harmony between all things and relationships in the universe, the Huayan School was actually conciliating social and class conflicts, disguising a hierarchal society, and wishing an everlasting order and stability for autocratic dynasties.

The Zen School believed that the nature of man was originally pure and contained the wisdom of bodhi or prajñā; therefore, it directly pointed at the pure nature that everyone originally had, preaching to know minds and nature and attain Buddhahood accordingly. The Zen School promoted the idea that living beings did not attain Buddhahood just because they had been confused by illusions and thus failed to enlighten themselves. Once they were enlightened by some people who were familiar with Buddhist truths, they would get rid of all their illusions, knowing their pure original nature immediately and attaining Buddhahood by themselves. That is the doctrine of "Self-enlightenment of Pure Nature," a fundamental principle of the Zen School, and it led people to self-improvement, making them return to their former selves.

To summarize, these Buddhist sects basically stressed that people should change their minds, give up discriminating against and adherence to things. In this way, they expected them to witness the emptiness in things, or know the truth that all things were mutually unhindered and perfectly intertwined, or get rid of illusions and grasp the original nature immediately. Viewed in the specific backgrounds of the Sui and Tang dynasties, one of the social and political roles of such teachings was to indirectly or even directly weaken people's revolutionary consciousness, make them yield to the reality and give up struggles, and thus guarantee the hierarchal autocratic regimes.

1.3.3 Modern Period

The gradual but eventual decline of the autocratic society increasingly exposed the defects of the School of Principles of the Song and Ming dynasties. Some progressive thinkers of the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, such as Li Zhi (1527–1602 AD) and Gong Zizhen (1792–1841 AD), resorted to Buddhism to criticize archaic pro-hierarchic Confucianism,

especially the School of Principles of the Song and Ming dynasties. By the end of the Qing dynasty, the calls for reforming autocracy were echoing all over China, and a group of modern bourgeoisie thinkers stepped on the stage of history, calling for social reform and urging social transformation. However, due to a variety of reasons, they did not really accept or could not digest Western thoughts; instead, they turned to Buddhism, heterodoxy in the eyes of the School of Principles. For example, Kang Youwei (1858–1927 AD), Tan Sitong (1865–1898 AD), Yan Fu (1853–1921 AD), Liang Qichao (1873–1929 AD), Zhang Taiyan (1869–1936 AD), and others had all absorbed the abstract teachings of Buddhism such as equality of all living beings, great kindness, and sympathy for the salvation of the world, and heroism and fearlessness, accordingly constructing the system of bourgeoisie thought. In his *A Book on Great Harmony* expounding a supreme social ideal, Kang Youwei considered a world of Great Harmony the same as the Paradise in Buddhism, thinking the "relief of sufferings for happiness" in Buddhism could be viewed as a mark of the world of Great Harmony. Actually, he was using the great kindness and sympathy of Buddhism as a tool of bourgeoisie reformists. Tan Sitong accepted certain teachings of Buddhist sects such as the Zen School and the Mind-only School as part of his "Doctrine of Benevolence," promoting the bourgeoisie thoughts of equality and humanity. Moreover, Tan even demonstrated the Buddhist spirit of "Who else could make the great sacrifice if I don't?" by pursuing the righteousness in defiance of death and sacrificing his life to breaking through the autocratic trammel. Liang Qichao promoted the idea that Buddhism was intended for "everyone's equality with the Buddha," and he stressed that "only Buddhism can serve the great cause of sacrificing oneself for the salvation of human beings" (On the Relations between Buddhism and People's Autonomy). He called on people to take on the Buddhist spirit of "making all sacrifices" to "salvage the nation," "help the society," oppose despotism, and realize equality. Zhang Taiyan thought that the failure of revolutions was rooted in the degraded moralities of the Chinese people. For the improvement of people's moralities, he argued that "the original Confucianism has no power to restore the world anymore, and even the School of Principles is insufficient to maintain the society…Naturally there would be no way to overcome bad opinions and practices without Buddhism" (On Non-self of Man). Zhang also stressed the principle of "valuing the mind of man itself instead of resorting to supernatural forces" in the tradition of the Zen School, trying to improve people's revolutionary morale. Bourgeoisie reformists were earnest in invoking Buddhist thoughts to develop the characteristics of unselfishness and fearlessness, improve people's moralities, and reform the autocratic society. It should be admitted that it was the positive role that certain Buddhist thoughts had played in some special historical backgrounds. Simultaneously, one should also be aware that the limitation and mystery of Buddhist thoughts had predestined the failures of those bourgeoisie reformists (such failures had their other profound causes, of course), and that Buddhism even became the consolation of some pessimists or was used as a tool to resist revolution. For example, after the 1911 Revolution, Zhang Taiyan in his *On Five Noes* promoted the idea of "no government, no communities, no human beings, no living beings, and no world." According to him, "The world will come to an end when all living beings witness the emptiness of all things, and that

is the final stage of perfection." Due to "the emptiness of all things," all things are void without self; accordingly, the material world would clear away, and the ultimate perfection would come true. Liang Qichao, another reformist, made even more hostile remarks against class struggles, socialism, and proletarian revolutions after the 1911 Revolution.

1.4 Characteristics of Relationships between Buddhism and Chinese Politics

Given the background, we can largely summarize the relationship between Buddhism and Chinese politics as follows:

1. Although Buddhism preached "freedom from sufferings" and "disengagement from the society," it lacked practical political theories. Hence, it was inconspicuous in the intellectual history of Chinese politics, but it was directly related to the autocratic ruling classes, and to some extent to the lower classes' struggles against despotism. So to speak, despite the varying situations from the East Jin dynasty to the end of the Yuan dynasty, Buddhism had closely been related to the social and political changes during this period, and had exerted long-term, profound influences upon society and politics. The research on the relationship between Buddhism and Chinese politics is not only an important aspect of the study of Chinese Buddhism but also an important part of the study of Chinese history.

2. The fundamental reason for the four large-scale Buddhism-oppressing events by the Chinese autocratic rulers in ancient times was rooted in the conflicts between economic and political interests. That is, the increasing number of Buddhist temples and their expanding monastic economy had directly harmed the benefits of the ruling classes in terms of land, labor forces, financial resources, and military resources. For the autocratic rulers, benefits always superseded belief. When Buddhism stood in the way of their interests, the autocratic rulers would resolvedly take Buddhism-oppressing measures to ensure that they continued receiving their benefits. This also indicated a complicated relationship between Buddhism and autocratic rulers: On the one hand, Buddhism served the autocratic ruling classes and the latter supported Buddhism; on the other, the two had conflicting interests. These two aspects constantly changed with the conditions of the time. We can glean the historical facts only if we review all aspects of the relationship between Buddhism and Chinese autocracy in a historical background.

3. Chinese Buddhism constantly changed with the contradictions and struggles against an autocratic society, and developed as new historical and geographical conditions emerged. Therefore, it had played a complicated role in the political history of China. Such complicatedness was manifested in the multiple levels of contents, the intersection of positive and passive roles, the difference and connection between major and minor roles, and so on. The most basic political role of Chinese Buddhism was to serve despotism, and that was represented in three aspects:

1. It provided theological arguments for the legitimacy of an autocratic scepter.
2. Some prominent monks directly suggested the need for supreme autocratic rulers and took part in military and political decision making.
3. It pacified people and made them obedient and submissive; that is, to "govern the minds" of people by promoting teachings such as everything is emptiness, disengage from the material world, effects that result from causes, heaven and hell, tolerance and conciliation, humbleness and meekness. In addition, Buddhism offered a way out for some people of prominent families or of high ranks who became disfavored in court or frustrated in their official careers, abating the internal contradictions within the ruling classes. Sometimes, autocratic rulers also employed Buddhism as a tie to unite ethical groups and neighboring countries, using it for a special positive political purpose. The above can be summarized as the first aspect, the major political role of Buddhism. But meanwhile, Buddhism also played a minor political role. Some abstract Buddhist teachings, including ideals, hopes, moralities, equality, kindness, salvation, and self-sacrifice as well as some tales, had brought zeal, fancies, vocation, and disguise to the peasant uprisings in ancient times, thus becoming a tool to mobilize and organize the masses. Also, it had offered "theories," thoughts, courage, and strength to modern bourgeoisie reformists. It should be pointed out that Buddhism contains no systematic theory encouraging people in clear words for reforms, rebellions, uprisings, or revolutions, and that the progressive people in history often utilized, developed, and altered Buddhist doctrines to serve their political ambitions. However, it should also be admitted that such situations did not arise occasionally; some Buddhist doctrines did inspire a few reformists to work toward social progress. Buddhism was exploited only because it promoted some useful theories. Historically speaking, the peasant uprisings and bourgeoisie reforms that came about through Buddhism were not victorious, and this could be attributed to the limitation of Buddhist theories.

Hence, we should understand that Chinese Buddhism was primarily used by the autocratic ruling classes to serve their self-interests, and it played a minor role in influencing progress. And, it would be improper to reverse these two kinds of roles or equate them. We should not emphasize the major role of Buddhism and neglect its minor role, nor should we deny its major role with respect to its minor one. When we analyze the role of Buddhism at the service of despotism, we should be aware both of its passive as well as its positive role. For example, in keeping the nation united and maintaining friendly ties with neighboring countries, which were a part of the autocratic policies of the Ming and Qing dynasties, the role of Chinese Buddhism cannot be called passive. When analyzing the positive use of Buddhism in peasant uprisings and bourgeoisie reforms, we should also understand the limitation that it imposed. To summarize, one can come to a factual conclusion of the relationship between Buddhism and Chinese politics if one employs the basic theories and methods of Marxism and Leninism to analyze specific issues on the basis of historical facts.

CHAPTER

2

Buddhism and Chinese Ethics

The Buddhist doctrine consists of three teachings (*śikṣa*)—*śīla*, *samādhi*, and *prajñā*. *Śîla* refers to *śīla-vinaya*, that is, the set of rules and disciplines observed by Buddhist practitioners preventing them from any wrong doings. *Samādhi* means meditative concentration, that is, a practitioner concentrates on reflecting and contemplating on his/her thoughts in order to eliminate sensual desires. *Prajñā* refers to wisdom, which is the practitioner's intelligence in understanding and abstaining from afflictions and perplexities to ultimately attain liberation (especially from suffering). Of the three teachings, *śīla* and *samādhi* mainly pertain to the doctrine on moral ethics, while *prajñā* pertains to some aspects of Buddhist moral theory. Therefore, Buddhism is a type of religion with a clear tinge of ethics and morality. Buddhism deems life as suffering, and considers striving for liberation from [this mundane] life the supreme ideal. And, to realize this ideal, Buddhism raises a set of theoretical doctrines and rules of ethics and morality to eliminate all that is unwholesome (*akuśala*) and follow all that is wholesome (*kuśala*), thus, forming an ideological system with respect to religious ethics and morality. The Buddhist concept of ethics and morality is entirely subject to its philosophy on life and liberation. Since its introduction into China, the Buddhist ideology on moral ethics, especially the concept of equality among all beings, shunning domestic life, and transcending social orders, strongly conflicted with the hierarchy and the Confucian ideology of ethics and morality in autocratic Chinese society. The conflict between the Buddhist concept of ethics and morality and the Confucian concept of moral obligations has been the biggest challenge to traditional Chinese cultural ideology, ethnic psychology, and folk customs. The vast divide between the two ideologies has been the cause of continuous conflict and debate.

During its spread across China, Buddhism had to ceaselessly confront, adjust, and resolve the contradictions that arose. Buddhism was restricted and influenced by the political and economic situations existing in autocratic Chinese society in ancient times. Further, it was also affected by the resistance and control by traditional Confucian ideas. Hence, Buddhism evolved and developed in a manner such that it remained conducive for and supportive to the different aspects of Chinese politics, economy, culture, etc. This led to the formation of a Chinese Buddhist doctrine of ethics and morality that conciliated with Confucian ideas and promoted the idea of "loyalty" (忠) and "filial piety" (孝). Thus, it differed from Indian

Buddhist ethics and morality and supplemented the traditional Chinese ethical and moral ideology during ancient times. The Buddhist way of cultivating the mind was also absorbed by the Confucians since the Tang dynasty (618–907 AD) and ultimately became the Confucian approach to the cultivation of morality. Later, the concept of Buddhist morality was used by the bourgeoisie reformists and democrats as a tool to rebuild national morality and promote the anti-autarchy struggle, with very limited success.

2.1 The Ethical and Moral Concepts of Indian Buddhism

The Indian Buddhist concepts of ethics and morality went through a process of evolution from Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna. In Hīnayāna Budhism, the concept of moral ethics is based on the analysis of human nature, which is shaped as well as distorted by the elements of suffering and torment; it begins with the opinion that "life is suffering" and emphasizes that biological desires within the self must be eliminated; further, it advocates the renunciation of domestic life to enter the Buddhist order in pursuit of an ascetic lifestyle so as to obviate one's own suffering. It also highlights the achievement of personal liberation through self-control, while maintaining a composed and indifferent attitude to social community and the fate of the nation. The Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, which inherited and modified the ethical and moral concepts from Hīnayāna Buddhism, begins with the concept of eliminating suffering and bringing relief to all sentient beings. It emphasizes the concepts of "loving kindness (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), sympathetic joy (*muditā*), equanimity (*upekşā*), self-profit to help others, self-enlightenment to enlighten others, considering the combined goal of self-liberation and everybody else's liberation as the ultimate aim of real liberation." As compared with Hīnayāna Buddhism, Mahāyāna Buddhism also includes teachings on interpersonal relationships and the concern for society.

The fundamental criteria of the Buddhist moral behavior are "the avoidance of all that is evil, and the undertaking of all that is wholesome (*sabbapāpassa akaraṇa kusalassa upasampada*)," which is based on the theory of *karma*. In accordance with the theory of *karma*, a human being's fate and future are entirely controlled and dominated by the law of cause and effect: a wholesome (*kuśala*) cause leads to a wholesome effect; an unwholesome (*akuśala*) cause leads to an unwholesome effect. The process of becoming a Buddha is in practice the course of continuously eliminating *akuśala* and cultivating *kuśala*, or giving up *akuśala* and returning to *kuśala*. In Buddhism, *kuśala* is said to have two basic meanings: (1) to respect all beings; not to violate or harm them, but help all beings and even liberate sentient beings; that is, exhibit loving kindness, compassion, and fraternity and (2) to exclude every thought, word, and behavior unbeneficial to self-cultivation, that is, every individual thought, word, and behavior should be beneficial in cultivating oneself toward becoming a Buddha. *Akuśala* is the opposite of *kuśala*. The moral requirements of

giving up *akuśala* and encouraging *kuśala* are prominently expressed and focused on in the series of Buddhist disciplines (precepts and rules) that restrain the Buddhists, and are also expressed in the various provisions in the Buddhist methods of [moral] cultivation. For instance, the "five precepts," that is, the behavioral rules that must be observed by lay Buddhists, are of specific social ethical significance:

> "Abstinence from killing" emphasizes the non-harming of any life through any means, that is, acknowledging the equal right of every life form to live, which is a great change compared with some actions to destroy and torture one's own body. "Abstinence from taking what is not given" means abstaining from violating or taking others' properties and rights. "Abstinence from sexual misconduct" refers to prohibiting the illicit sexual relationships between male and female. "Abstinence from false speech" means to avoid dishonesty and encourage mutual trust and understanding between individuals and groups. "Abstinence from taking intoxicants" is the avoidance of stimulation to ensure mental peace; it is also beneficial for harmonious social atmosphere. Among the five precepts, abstinence from killing is double edged: on the one hand, it protects people and beneficial livestock like farm cattle; on the other, it also protects the scum of society and creatures harmful to human beings. This moral discipline, in addition to being used as a progressive force, may be used by the backward force in a class society. "Sexual transgression," which differs from abstention from sensual desire stressed by early Buddhism, holds only the third position among the five precepts, and its scope of restriction is also circumscribed. Thus, "family" is not considered as a shackle of life or an obstacle to cultivation, which maintains the ethical principle of the ruling class that uses this principle of considering the family as the nucleus of society to stabilize the social order.

Also, Mahāyāna Buddhism, which advocates the universal liberation of all sentient beings, takes the [course of] engagement, awakening, and liberation of sentient beings as a lever of personal cultivation for the attainment of Buddhahood and the accumulation of wisdom and virtue. To this end, Mahāyāna Buddhism sums up the method of cultivation that would bring its followers from the shore of birth and death (samsāra) to the other shore of nirvaṇa with the six perfections (*pāramitā*)—generosity (*dāna*), observing precepts (*śīla*), patience (*kşānti*), effort (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and wisdom (*prajñā*); of these, generosity, patience, and meditation are deemed the most important. Both generosity and patience, as mutually enhancing religious cultivations, have a moral flavor ascribed to them. "Generosity" means that a follower should, by using his/her own wisdom and physical strength, save the poor and satisfy the demander, that is, not cherish his/her own property or even life and generously give alms and sacrifice for all sentient beings.

Prince Xudana (Sudatta/須大拏),[1] a model of generosity advocated in the Buddhist scriptures, in addition to giving his state, his fields, gardens, his wife and vassals, dismembered and donated his limbs and five internal organs. The Buddhist scriptures also say that some Buddhists even sacrificed themselves to feed tigers out of compassion to save the tigers' lives. Some of these methods of detaching oneself from the world

[1]See T3, p7c, *Xudana sūtra*, note made by translator.

may indeed look cruel, savage, and foolish; however, they exemplify the spirit of self-sacrifice. The advocacy of giving alms to the temple and Buddhist monks shows the dependence and demands of Buddhism upon the society. "Patience" requires followers to consolidate and keep faith, and advocates that the followers should be ready to be subjected to the "torments of boiling waters and fire, tortures of being minced into meat sauce" rather than do anything harmful to sentient beings. With respect to damaging actions or speech inflicted upon the follower by others, a follower should keep his/her mind undisturbed and passively bear these affronts. These two credos have differed in content and meaning in different times, and historically, they had indeed sparked some individuals' wholesome motivations and inspired some people to act with the spirit of self-sacrifice. However, it also has obvious negative effects, such as advocating the disdain and abandonment of one's own wealth and life, paying tribute to the spirit of patience and quiet sacrifice of the suffering masses and concealing the crimes of the perpetrators of these sufferings.

It should also be pointed out, however, that one of the important characteristics of Buddhist ethics is to seek a state beyond morality. The fundamental tenet of Buddhism is to understand deeply the suffering of life and the misery in the world and attain *nirvaṇa*, a kind of liberation transcending reality, as the supreme ideal state, where morality is also abandoned and transcended. This is because, from the Buddhist perspective, the world of *kuśala* and *akuśala* morality belongs to the sphere of discrimination, but *nirvaṇa*, the state of liberation, belongs to the sphere of equality without discrimination. In this way, Buddhism on one hand encourages the Buddhists to give up *akuśala* and follow *kuśala* in practice; while on the other hand, it stresses that Buddhists strive toward the ideal of transcending "right and wrong" and *kuśala* and *akuśala*. These two aspects are connected closely with each other, and the pursuing of Buddhist morality is a necessary approach for attaining liberation—there is no other way except this one. Buddhist moral practice does not consider the tangible material gains as the end, but the non-material religious ideals as refuge and repose, that is, transcending all discriminations of right and wrong, advantage and disadvantage, is considered the ultimate goal.

Although Mahāyāna Buddhism considers *nirvaṇa* as the *summum bonum* of Buddhism, it is not restricted to only a handful of people. It also opines that all sentient beings, after entering the state of *nirvaṇa* and becoming a Buddha through cultivation, shall not, for the purpose of actualizing the universal liberation of sentient beings, stay in *nirvaṇa* but return to the real world and continue to educate people. This is a moral act of returning to the real world after one achieves liberation. Buddhism takes the state of *nirvaṇa*, which is beyond morality and the material world, as its *summum bonum*, and the deep-seated theoretical basis thereof is the concept of no-self (*anātman* or *anattā*). Buddhism assumes the theory of no-self as the law of the universe; therefore, it opposes the indulgence in ego-grasping and egocentric desires, and thinks that it is only through restraining and removing egotistic desires to attain the state of no-self that there can be a real entry into the supreme state of liberation. Therefore, it may be said that the ethics of no-self is the ultimate ideal of Buddhism.

2.2 The Tendency of Early Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Canon to Adapt to Chinese Confucian Ethics

After its introduction into Mainland China in the Han dynasty, Buddhism first transmitted and extended its influence through translated Buddhist scriptures. The Indian Buddhist scriptures, adapted from ancient Indian social life, national legal systems, and folk customs, were formed through absorbing and criticizing Indian fables and traditional ideologies. The social and human relationships claimed and reflected by Indian Buddhism were significantly different from those in China, which was a centralized country under absolutism and which formed a feudal ethical relationship with the familial and patriarchal system as the core of the natural economy. Thus, as specified by Confucianism, cardinal guides and constant virtues became the important moral rules and religious superstitious concepts for maintaining the autocratic governing order and the strongest patriarchal clan ideology through blood ties since the times of the Yin and Zhou dynasties. These cardinal guides and constant virtues included the emperor and subject, father and son, husband and wife, brothers and friends, the moral concepts of "loyalty (忠)" and "filial piety (孝)" and the two relevant concepts in traditional Chinese religious superstition, that is, the "heaven" virtually equated with the emperor and the "ghost and god" connected with ancestor apotheosis.

The ethical contents of the Buddhist scriptures, if they had been translated from the original text, might well have conflicted with traditional Chinese ethical and moral concepts and been opposed by the autocratic governors and their circles of thought, thus losing its foothold. The early sūtra translators from the East Han dynasty (25–220 AD) to the East Jin dynasty (265–316 AD) were acutely conscious of this problem and, through such methods as selecting, deleting, abridging, and adding relevant content, translated the texts such that they conformed to Chinese familial ethics. In this way, Buddhism could be safely promoted and transmitted across China.

The early translations of the Buddhist scriptures regarding the Buddhist ethical thoughts mainly included:

1. *Shi-la-luo-yue-liu-fang-li-jing* (*Sigālaka Sutta* in Pali) translated by An Shigao in the East Han dynasty (25–220 AD).
2. *Shan-sheng-zi-jing* translated by Zhi Fadu in the West Jin dynasty (265–316 AD).
3. *Shan-sheng-jing* (T1, *Madhyamāgama*, fascicle 33) translated by Samghadeva in the East Jin dynasty (317–420 AD).
4. *Hua-yan-jing* (*Avatamsaka-sūtra*, 60 fascicles) translated by Buddhabhadra in the East Jin dynasty.
5. *Milindapañha Sūtra* translated during the East Jin dynasty.
6. *You-xing-jing* and *Shan-sheng-jing* (T1, *Dirghāgama,* fascicle 2 and 12 respectively) jointly translated by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in the post Qin dynasty.

In these translated Chinese Buddhist scriptures, the translators, pursuant of Chinese Confucian ethical and moral concepts, modified the text pertaining to interpersonal relations, especially, the relation between males and females, family ties, and relations between the master and the servant.[2]

Relations between male and female. Relationships between men and women, including sexual relationships, were not treated as taboo in ancient India; rather, these were treated as a perfectly normal part of life and prostitutes were not discriminated against. Even in the Buddhist scriptures, there are stories about a prostitute and her son promoting Buddhist thoughts and the story of a mother and her daughter marrying the same man who turned out to be the older woman's son. Obviously, this was completely unacceptable and conflicted with the male-female concept of Chinese Confucianism. Therefore, the Chinese translators of the Buddhist scriptures avoided words such as "hug" and "kiss" and omitted the description of prostitutes. The first chapter of the Dun-huang transcript of the *Zhu-jing-za-yuan-yu-ying-you-ji* introduces the reasons why the Buddhist nun Lian Hua-se entered the *Sangha*. However, it lacks one key section, which is—because Lian Hua-se had married so many times before her entry into the *Sangha*, that she and her sons and daughters didn't know each other, leading to her daughter and herself marrying her own son. Lian Hua-se was utterly ashamed when she did learn about this, and left home and became a nun. This description is abridged on account of its conflict with traditional Chinese ethical concepts (for detailed account, please refer to *Postscript on the Causes of the Buddhist Nun Lian Hua-se Entering the Sangha* written by Chen Yinke). Sometimes, in the Indian Buddhist scriptures, when referring to males and females, the female is introduced first, followed by the male, that is, the female is listed before the male. The Chinese translations of the Indian Buddhist scriptures, evidently for the sake of compliance with the Chinese customs at that time, replaced "female and male" with gender-neutral words, and also changed "to marry a woman" to "to marry a woman and a woman as a concubine."

Relations between husband and wife. The original text of the Indian Buddhist scriptures *(Sigālaka Sutta)* listed five virtues that a wife must possess: "(1) properly organize her work, (2) be kind to the servants, (3) be faithful, (4) protect the stores, and (5) be skilful and diligent in all she does."[3] However, in the Chinese translation of *Liu-fang-Li-jing* (*Sūtra of Homage to the Six Directions*), the five virtues are modified and an explanation provided: "(1) to stand up and wait upon the husband when he returns home, (2) to cook and clean when the husband goes out of the house, (3) not to have sexual relations with other men or answer

[2]It was in the year 1932 that Mr. Chen Yinque, a famous historian in China, on comparing the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Canons with those written in Pali, wrote the paper *Postscript upon the Cause of the Buddhist Nun Lian-hua-se Entering the Sangha* (refer to *Collection of Chen Yinke - Hanliutang Collection*, published in Tsinghua Journal), which revealed the intentional deletion of the description of the sexual intercourse between male and female in the Indian Buddhist Canon. The famous Japanese scholar, Mr. Nakamura Hajime, also made a comparison of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Canon and the original Indian Buddhist Canon and wrote *Influence of Confucian Thought on the Chinese Translation of Buddhist Canon* (refer to *Studies in World Religions*, 1982(2)). The discussion in this section consulted this work.

[3]DN III, P190, and see the *Long Discourses of the Buddha* translated by Maurice Walshe, p467. note made by translator.

back or get angry when being abused, (4) to listen to the husband's instructions and not hide any sundries, (5) not to go to bed until her husband is tucked in his quilt and is asleep."[4] This translation indicates that the husband has a higher rank than the wife, and that the wife must be dedicated to, wait upon, and absolutely submit to her husband. In the aforesaid original text of Indian Buddhism, there are sentences such as "a husband should take care of his wife, and the wife should love her husband." These sentences, in the Chinese translation, have been modified to "the husband inspects the wife (same as above)" or "the husband loves the wife tenderly," "the wife waits upon her husband," "the wife respects and is obedient to her husband" (*Madhyamāgama* fascicle 33, *Sujata Sūtra*), thus, weakening the obligations of the husband to his wife and increasing the dependence of the wife on the husband.

Relations between father and son. The early familial ethics of Buddhism excluded the previous concept of Brahmanism that the father was the patriarch and that the son must always obey his father. In Indian Buddhist *sūtras*, the mother has a higher rank than the father and the expression "mother and father" in that order, where mother is listed before father, is used. The *sūtra* even says that the child assumes the mother's last name. The familial concept in Indian Buddhism is opposite that of the patriarchal system followed in China. Thus, in the Chinese translations of the Buddhist scriptures, the expression has been changed to "father and mother" at every occurrence where parents are mentioned; sometimes, the words "filial to parents," which are not actually present in the original text, have been added. The original text of the Indian Buddhist scriptures (*Sigālaka Sutta,* DN, III, p189) stresses that the children shall wait upon parents in the following manner: "(1) having been supported by them (the parents), I (the son) will support them; (2) I will perform their duties for them; (3) I will keep up the family tradition; (4) I will be worthy of my heritage; and (5) after my parents' death, I will distribute gifts on their behalf." However, in the Chinese translations, text not present in the original text of Indian Buddhism has been included. The *Shan-sheng-jing* (*Sujata Sūtra*) includes sentences such as: "Everything that is to be done should be first reported to the parents," "What the parents do should be obeyed and not be breached," and words of "the parents' should not be disobeyed."[5] Another translation of the *Shan-sheng-jing* includes sentences such as "One does as one pleases and does not disobey," "All private belongings shall be given to the parents with respect."[6] The *Singalovada Sutra* also has sentences such as "only make your parents happy."[7]

The *Liu-fang-li-jing* also lists detailed obligations for children: "(1) To remember and keep in mind that one's birth was given by one's parents; (2) To rise early and order the servants to cook; (3) Not to cause worry to one's parents; (4) To keep in mind the kindness of one's parents; (5) To send for the doctor urgently when the parents get ill."[8]

[4]T1, P251b.
[5]T1, P71c.
[6]Ibid., P641a.
[7]Ibid., P254a.
[8]Ibid., P254a.

These words added therein stress the absolute authority of the parents and the absolute obedience of the children to the parents, embodying the penetration and influence of the Confucian concept of morality over the Chinese translation of the Buddhist scriptures. On the other hand, the Indian Buddhist scriptures also describe the obligations of parents to children: "(1) to grant; (2) to speak kindly; (3) to carry out everything needed by a human being; and (4) to give proper assistance on different things." These four points must be carefully observed. In case the abovementioned four points are not taken care of, the mother and the father will not receive the respect and support that they should, being parents, receive from the children.[9] It promotes the obligations that parents should observe and the morality that human beings should comply with in society. The concept that parents should not receive the support of their children if they fail to fulfill their obligations is in conflict with the filial thought of Confucianism. Hence, the *Liu-fang-li-jing* and *Shan-sheng-zi-jing* were not translated.[10] Only two versions of *Shan-sheng-jing* were translated in the East Jin and Post Qin dynasties, possibly because Buddhism was very popular at that time and could be freely translated in accordance with the original text. During the Tang dynasty (618–907 AD), Buddhism reached its peak, and the translation was more faithful to the originals.

Relations between master and servant. In ancient times, every country advocated that "the servant serves the master, and the master cares for the servant." However, early Buddhism advocated the contrary and claimed that "the master shall wait upon the servant, and the servant shall love the master," which reflected the concept of equality with regard to persons of humble status. This concept was also in conflict with the social estate system in autocratic China. According to the ethics of social ranking in Chinese Confucianism, it was an entirely reversed state of affairs that the master should wait upon the servant and that the servant should love the master. Therefore, Chinese translations were changed to "inspect" or "instruct" the servant, and the latter "serves," "supports," and "waits upon" the master. As was said in the *Six-Aspect Rites Scriptures*, "A master watches a servant being ordered, and the servant is ordered to wait upon the master." *Singalovada Sutra* says, "The master…is worshiped, served and waited upon by servant, and the servant serves the master." The *Singalovada Sutra* says, "the master gives instructions to the servant, and the servant is made to wait upon the master."

Relations between emperor and subject. According to Pali Buddhist scriptures, Śākyamuni once praised the republican government of the Vajji (瓦杰). The Chinese translation also says that the Vajji often held meetings, but this has been translated to Caesarisms such as "the emperor and the subject are in harmony and respect each other" (*Dirghāgama*, fascicle 2, the *You-xing-jing*).

[9]Quoted from Nakamura Hajime's (Japanese) *Influence of Confucian Thought on* the *Chinese Translation of Buddhist Canon*, published in *Studies in World Religions*, 1982.2).
[10]《养生子经》in the original text is a typing error of 《善生经》.

Given the above introduction, Indian Buddhism believes that the relationship between male and female, father and son, husband and wife, and master and servant are equal and they should respect each other and treat each other fairly. It differs from the hierarchical status—the obedient-supporting relationship and absolute-subject relationship—promulgated by Chinese Confucianism. To enable the newly arrived Buddhism survive and flourish, the early translation of the Buddhist scriptures had to compromise with and reconcile with the Confucian ethical concepts, which, from the very start, deviated from the ethical thoughts of Indian Buddhism and formed one of the important characteristics of the ethical concepts of Chinese Buddhism.

2.3 Confucian Exclusion and Buddhist Reconciliation

The Chinese translation of the Buddhist scriptures conformed to the Confucian ethics and morality of the times and this helped the popularization of Buddhism. However, the divergence in social ethics and morality between Buddhism and Confucianism revealed a sharp and deep contradiction between them, which mainly arose from their fundamentally different viewpoints on life and society. Confucianism calls for achieving the ideal personality—the saint—and for this purpose, advocates the cherishing of life and pays attention to the development of individual life patterns, that is, life activities, by means of such interpersonal relations such as husband with wife, father with son and brothers, emperor with subject and friends. In this way, it puts into practice its ideals and brings about benefits to society, thus achieving personal greatness. With this idealism, Confucianism attaches great importance to the structured order between human beings, which is mainly of three types: (1) affairs internal to the family, including [the relationships of] husband and wife, father and son, and brothers; (2) affairs of the state, including [the relationships of] emperor and subject; and (3) affairs cutting across the world, including friends. It also specifies five basic moral rules to be followed by human beings: there is a linear consanguinity between the father and the son; righteousness between emperor and subject; a distinction between the husband and the wife; a hierarchical order between the elders and the youngsters; and faithfulness between friends.

In contrast, Buddhism deems life as a source of suffering and the world an ocean of misery, and thinks that such misery originates from one's own thoughts, words, and behavior. The idealism of Buddhism rests with liberation, that is, observing and rethinking self-misery and adopting a set of misery-relieving methods by practicing the Buddhist path to achieve liberation from the mundane world and attain *nirvaṇa*. Therefore, Confucianism is focused on human affairs and realities, whereas Buddhism focuses on liberation and renunciation. The Buddhist claims on life and society and the overflow of ethical concept hereof would surely corrupt and cause the collapse of the Confucian concept of ethics, and hence further

endanger the Confucian structure of society and ideals. Hence, since the introduction of Buddhism, the Confucians continued their attack and assaults on Buddhism from the viewpoint of ethics and morality, particularly on the fact that Buddhism does not recognize the concept of emperor or father. And, Buddhism always adopted the attitudes of exculpation, reconciliation, and compromise against such attacks and assaults.

Mouzi's Theory for Clarifying Confusion (牟子理惑论),[11] at an earlier time, reflected the divergence of Confucianism and Buddhism with regard to the concepts of ethics and morality, and focused on three aspects: (1) The person who adopts Buddhism and becomes a monk should receive burning marks on the body and tonsuring; this is in violation of the morals in *the Book of Filial Piety* (Xiao Jing), which says, "Body, hair, and skin all come from your parents, do not dare to damage them," that is, the tonsured monk disobeys the rules of filial piety; (2) The person who enters the *Sangha* and becomes a monk should not get married and thus has no heir, which, in addition to making such a person unable to enjoy the happiness of life, is considered as the most unfilial behavior; (3) The person who enters the religious order and becomes a monk should don ecclesiastical robes and not observe the ritual of kneeling down, thus violating traditional Chinese ceremony. Buddhism provides justifications for all the above. In ancient times, Tai-bo (泰伯), to compel his father Gu-gong (古公) to resign sovereign authority to Ji-li (季历), escaped to the regions of Wu and Yue, where he, subject to local customs, practiced tattoo and tonsure, and he received praise from Confucius for his behavior; Yao (尧) was going to resign sovereign authority to Xu-you (许由), but the latter hid in the mountains; Bo-yi (伯夷) and Shu-qi (叔齐), for the sake of righteousness, refused to eat the millet offered by Zhou (周) and escaped into Shouyang (首阳) mountains, where he starved to death. Confucius did not ridicule these people mentioned above for not having offspring, but praised them as "people who will find humaneness when seeking humaneness."

It is obvious that for the purpose of practicing morality, the practice of tonsure, causing burn marks on the body, and even having no wife or heir are noble-minded actions consistent with Confucian morality. Buddhism says that, in the age of the Three Emperors, people who ate animal flesh and wore leather and who were modest and guileless were praised highly in Confucianism. The *Lao-zi-dao-de-jing* (老子道德经) also says in Chapter XXXVIII that the "virtue" (De/德), which does not stress the form was the "great virtue," and was otherwise, "small virtue."[12] The monk's clothing and ceremony should not be rebuked either. Thus, by only invoking an individual case or legend, by making far-fetched parallels, only generally stressing the conformity with the principle of "Dao" (道) of Daoism and Confucianism, the justification provided by Buddhism is passive and weak and lacks sufficient examples. In

[11]This book, according to the present superscription thereon, is written by Mouzi who hid out in Jiaozhi in order to evade war at the end of the period of the Emperor Ling of Han (188 AD). But, for the last one hundred years, Chinese and foreign scholars have had differing opinions and even today, there is still no consensus. What concerns our discussion are chapters IX, X, XI, and XIX.

[12]*Lao Zi: The book of Tao and Teh*, translated by Gu Zhengkun, Peking University Press, 1995, p175: "A man of great virtue does not claim to be of virtue, thus he is of true virtue. A man of small virtue always holds fast to virtue in form, thus he is actually of no virtue."—note made by translator.

reality, it is difficult to provide substantial supportive examples. The ruling class of the Han dynasty attached special importance to calling for the country to be ruled by filial piety, and the Confucians of that time also criticized the Buddhist breach of filial piety. The issue of śramaṇas wearing ecclesiastical robes with bared right shoulders and refusing to kneel down before the king developed into a violent debate.

During the East Jin dynasty (317–420 AD), the contradiction between Buddhism and the common etiquette system gradually drew the attention of the ruling class. And thus, a debate ensued between the internal ruling class, anti-Buddhists, and Buddhist followers, which lasted until the Tang dynasty and was repeatedly brought up for several hundred years. During the regency of Yu Bing (庾冰), in the East Jin dynasty, Yu, issued on behalf of Emperor Cheng of Jin an imperial decree that a śramaṇa should bow down before the king. One of the reasons for this was that Buddhism was detrimental to the Confucian ethical code "Great etiquette and high respect are the key element of ruling, that is the reason thereupon (*Collection of Hong Ming*, Fascicle 12, *Imperial Decree of Chong on Behalf of Emperor Cheng of Jin on the śramaṇa's not Bowing Down before the King*)." The key element in ruling lies in respect and as specified by Buddhism, a Buddhist should not, no matter which lay person he met, whether emperor or parents, kneel down or call the appellation, but should merely put their palms together as a sign of respect. If people followed this Buddhist abandonment of etiquette, and failed to distinguish between nobleness and humbleness, then they would disregard the national ceremony and rules, and the state would spiral into disorder. However, Yu Bing's orders were not put into effect because of the opposition from some members of the ruling class who were followers of Buddhism, such as He Chong (何充), Chu Yi (褚翌), Zhuge Hui (诸葛恢), Feng Huai (冯怀), and Xie Guang (谢广). The reason for the opposition from the members of the ruling class was that according to them, Buddhism had not violated any state law and that the emperor had not ordered the śramaṇas to kneel down in the past. Buddhism, in addition to not violating any law, had played an important role in cultivating people's respect for the emperor. The failure to put into effect Yu Bing's orders indicated the strength and influence of Buddhism as well as the relative weakening of the Confucian concepts of ethics and morality.

Later on, Grand Marshal Huan Xuan (桓玄) raised the issue of the śramaṇas' not kneeling down before the king, which again began to be debated upon between Huan Xuan and Hui Yuan (慧远), the leaders of the southern sect of Buddhism, and Huan Qian (桓谦) and Wang Mi (王谧), the two officials who were followers of Buddhism. Huan Xuan, using the words of *Lao-zi* with reference to Dao, Heaven, Earth, and the King as "the four dominances," stressed that the survival and development of the śramaṇas also depended on the kings, and hence they should, bow down before the king because they received the benefits afforded by the king. And, it was unreasonable for the śramaṇas to bow down before the great master but not before the king. Hui Yuan wrote five essays explaining the basic standpoint of the śramaṇas' not bowing down before the king. Hui Yuan stressed that there were two circumstances in connection with the belief in Buddhism: one was for the lay practitioners, and the other was for the practitioners of renunciation. The former should accept loyalty to the king and filial piety to parents, and abide by the etiquette and the kingly way.

But the śramaṇas, as the practitioners of renunciation, differed from the former, as they thought the human body was the root of misery and by no means made the preservation of bodies the precondition to eliminating misery. That a human had a "body" should be attributed to the event of "birth," which was brought about by the changes in *Qi* of Yin andYang. Therefore, the śramaṇa should not, since paying no attention to life, be compliant with the changes in nature, or further abide by the moralization of the political ceremony. Thus, the śramaṇa should not feel deeply grateful for the support and benefit given by heaven, earth, emperor, and parents or repay them by following the norms of etiquette. This is, in a polite way, to deny the ethical concept of the emperor and the subject, and of father and son. If a śramaṇa attains Buddhahood with all the virtues, it will save his six relations and even the whole world. This is compliant with the ruling of the king even though the śramaṇa does not occupy the post of a king. That is, a śramaṇa's renunciation and cultivation toward Buddhahood completely jibe with the Confucian thoughts on politics and ethics. Confucianism and Buddhism may complement each other and benefit by associating with each other.

Hui Yuan's opinions on the Buddhist etiquette system and its relationship to the Confucian system of ethics, morality, and etiquette had very important significance in determining the Chinese Buddhist system of ethical concepts and etiquette as well as its attitude to the imperial court. Hui Yuan differentiated the propagation of Buddhism by the householders from that by the homeless, and focused on the characteristics and dignities of Confucianism and Buddhism. By following the way of compromise, which was by specifying the rule that the lay practitioner should be faithful to the emperor and filial to his/her parents, Hui Yuan thus unified the ethics and morality of Buddhism and Confucianism as well as the feudal politics. By defining the etiquette system for the practitioners who had left home, maintaining the formal independence of Buddhism, and stressing its conformity with the Confucian ethics and morality as well as the autocratic dynasty, he reconciled Buddhism and the Confucian ethical code from the political perspective. This was the beginning of the Chinese Buddhist leaders openly calling for the reconciliation of Buddhism and Confucianism, which had a far-reaching influence on the future development of Buddhist thought.

The Chinese Confucian etiquette system had always paid attention to clothing as a means to embody class differences and signify fortune or misfortune. A śramaṇa's wearing the ecclesiastical robe and baring the right shoulder differed from the Confucian etiquette system and was considered to be disdainful and in abandonment of the common etiquette. General South-Guarding He Wuji wrote the *Blame for Bare Shoulder* (Nan Tanfu Lun) in order to discuss with Hui Yuan the issue of śramaṇa's baring their shoulders and expressed his objection to the monks' attire. General He pointed out that a bare shoulder was non-compliant with the regulations as may be specified in Chinese historical documents, which consider the left side as auspicious. Therefore, it was inadvisable for a śramaṇa to bare his right shoulder. In response to the objections raised by He Wuji, Hui Yuan in his writings *An Essay on Sramaṇa's Bare Shoulder* (Shamen Tanfu Lun) and *Reply to General He* (Da He Zhen-nan Shu) pointed out that the Indian custom differed from the Chinese custom and that the *śramaṇa* could not be considered a lay man, and stressed that everything

in the world would, if the humanity of Confucianism and compassion of Buddhism were followed, become alike and not differ in terms of superiority, inferiority, fortune, or misfortune. This skillfully defended the standpoint of Buddhism on the śramaṇa's baring their right shoulders.

Hui Yuan's explanation of Buddhist ethics made possible, in theory, the connection between the Buddhist and the Confucian concepts of politics and ethics and for some time, ameliorated, if not eliminated, the contradiction between them. Eventually, the differences, contradictions, and discrepancies between Buddhism and the common ethics and morality required the intervention by the supreme ruler. Several generations of emperors in the earlier Tang dynasty altered the policy of the Sui dynasty (581–618 AD) on Buddhist adoration, highlighted the status of "Doctrine of Confucius" and adopted an attitude of restraint and exploitation toward Buddhism. Emperor Gao Zu of the Tang dynasty once enquired of Buddhists, "Where and what are the benefits of tonsuring hair given by one's parents and in abandoning the dress given by the emperor?" (Da Tang *Gaozu's Enquiry into the Benefits of the Sangha's Appearance and Way of Dressing, Collection of Ancient and Modern Buddhist Theses* [Ji Gujin fo-dao Lun heng], Volume C) He stressed that "The relation between the emperor and the subject, the father and the son as well as the hierarchical order of elder and younger, humanity and righteousness, are the same as in the doctrine of Confucius, so that I am not willing to agree to the abandonment of etiquette or to immorality" (*Discussion and Paraphrase (Party A)*, *Essentials of the Tang,* Volume 47). The above mentioned "etiquette abandonment or immorality" refers to the monks' not bowing down before the emperor or parents. Emperor Tai Zong of the Tang dynasty also said, "What I prefer today are the kingly ways of Yao and Shun and the doctrine of Confucius" (*Cautious Preference, the Political Program in Zhenguan Times*, Volume 6). Emperor Gao Zong of the Tang dynasty, in the second year of his sovereignty (657 AD), issued an imperial decree ordering the monks to bow before the emperor and their parents, which said, "From now on, the Buddhist monks shall not receive the worship of parents or adherents. What is specified herein has legal force and shall be put into effect immediately" (*Continuing Paraphrase (Party A), Essentials of the Tang*, Volume 47). Dao Xuan (道宣) and Fa Lin (法琳), inheriting the thought from Hui Yuan (慧远), tried every means to argue on the standpoint that the Buddhist monks should not bow before the emperor or their parents, but they also pointed out that a monk's not bowing down did not mean unfaithfulness or impiety and that monks frequently worshiped internally although not externally. They also said that such internal worship was more important than external worship.

During the mid Tang dynasty, Han Yu (韩愈), from the standpoint of maintaining Confucian virtues and morality and with the strong spirit of an independent ideologist, clearly expressed his objection to Buddhism. Han bitterly attacked Buddhism in his writing *Memorandum on the Buddha's Relics* and risked his life by submitting it to Emperor Xian Zong (宪宗) of the Tang dynasty. His writings proved to be quite shocking at that time and almost cost him his life at the hands of the emperor. Fortunately for Han Yu, he was spared on account of the pleading of the Prime Ministers Cui Qun (崔群) and Pei Du (裴度) and received light punishment in the form of demotion to Chao

Zhou (潮州). Han Yu stressed that "the Buddha was a foreigner originally, unable to speak Chinese and wearing strange clothes. In addition, the Buddha neither spoke the words that the previous emperors required to be spoken nor wore the clothes that the previous emperors mandated that people wear" (*Memorandum on the Buddha's Relics*). Buddhism "abandons the relationship between the emperor and the subject, between the father and the son, and forgets the benefit of birth and upbringing given by the parents" (*Original Dao*), which was contrary to the political claim, moral ethics, and system of protocol of Confucianism. Han Yu's outbursts against Buddhism were suppressed by Emperor Xian Zong but were not counterattacked by Buddhist followers. However, Han received a reply from his good friend Liu Zongyuan (柳宗元). The latter was in favor of Buddhism and he also in turn received criticism from Han. Liu did not agree with Han on his comments on Buddhism and said,

> What I accept is compliant with the Book of Changes (Zhou Yi) and the Analects of Confucius (Lun Yu). The saint was reborn [in the world], but I should not criticize him after obtaining [his knowledge]. The defects are detected [among Buddhists] by Tuizhi (another name of Han Yu) are the traces, saying that "A monk who tonsures his hair and wears the ecclesiastical robe, does not have wife or son, and does not engage in agricultural production, but lives." I don't agree on these, either. [But with respect to the monk's abandoning those mentioned above,] Tuizhi who gets angry against only the external expression, but omits the internal significance, knows only the stone but does not know the jade [in it]. That is the reason that I indulge in Buddhism. (Collection of the Liu Hedong·Preface for the Monk Haochu)

Liu Zongyuan thought that the monk's tonsure, causing burn marks on the body, not marrying and engaging in agricultural production were just "the trances," the "outward signs" of Buddhism, that is, the external expression. He didn't agree with these practices either. But Han Yu "gave up the inner things," that is, gave up the internal thought of Buddhism, which was consistent with Confucian *sūtras* such as the *Zhou Dynasty's Book of Changes* (Zhou Yi) and *the Analects of Confucius* (Lun Yu) and should be supported. Liu Zongyuan also particularly praised the Buddhist concept of morality by saying, "The doctrine of the Buddha essentially begins with filial piety, then accumulates the general virtues and returns to emptiness" (*Preface for Master Xun Returning to Huainan for Pilgrimage*). In Liu Zongyuan's mind, Buddhism attached importance to filial piety, which was helpful in cultivating the public good, and was the same as the *Zhou Yi* and the *Lun Yu*, and beneficial for the world. It could be said that it was from the standpoint of Confucianism that Liu Zongyuan confirmed the Buddhist thought. What was interesting was that Han Yu, from the standpoint of Confucianism, fought against Buddhism and that Liu Zongyuan, also from the standpoint of Confucianism, affirmed Buddhism and reconciled Confucianism and Buddhism.

Han Yu's claims against Buddhism, although not accepted by Emperor Xian Zong of the Tang dynasty, had far-reaching effects on history. It was in the 14th Yuanhe year

of Emperor Xian Zong (819 AD) that Han Yu wrote the *Memorandum on the Buddha's Relics*. After more than 20 years, Emperor Wu Zong of the Tang dynasty took measures to extinguish Buddhism, which, following this attack, could not recover from the setback. Han Yu's orthodoxy and his viewpoint of distinguishing Confucianism and Buddhism by means of public and private perspectives paved the way for the rise of the Neo-Confucianism of the Song and Ming dynasties. Although Han Yu didn't produce a new and deep theory, he was still a very important contributor to Chinese ideology during the turning point of Buddhism and the emergence of Neo-Confucianism. It could be said that since the time of Han Yu, Buddhism retreated further and further and compromised and conceded to a greater extent before the challenge of Confucianism.

Qi Song (契嵩), a famous Zen master in the Song dynasty, responded to Han Yu's outburst on excluding Buddhism. He wrote a 30-part treatise titled *Criticism of Han* (refer to the *Collection of Biaojin*, Volume 14), comprising more than 30,000 words in total. In the first chapter, he criticized Han Yu's expressions in the *Original Dao* with respect to the understanding of humanity, righteousness, and morality and stated that the discussions on the relationship between them did not conform to the Confucian texts. Qi Song, in response to the ideological challenge posed by the Confucian scholars, became an important representative among the Buddhist scholars since the Tang dynasty in reconciling the moral ethics of Buddhism and Confucianism. He included the Buddhist teachings of abstinence from killing, from taking what is not given, and observing compassion and generosity into the Confucian teachings of humanity and righteousness stressed by Han Yu, and emphasized that "the five precepts" and compassions of Buddhism were equal to "the five constant virtues" of Confucianism:

> Five Precepts: (1) abstinence from killing; (2) abstinence from taking what is not given; (3) abstinence from sexual misconduct; (4) abstinence from false speech; and (5) abstinence from taking intoxicants. Abstinence from killing: humanity; abstinence from taking what is not given: righteousness; abstinence from sexual misconduct: courtesy; abstinence from taking intoxicants: wisdom; abstinence from false speech: faithfulness (Assistance in Teaching (Part B) Treatise on Filial Piety· Chapter on Abstention and Filial Piety (Seven), Collection of Tanjin, Volume 3).

He also said,

> The reason that I am fond of Confucianism is that there is some conformity between Confucianism and my Dao. The humanity (Ren), righteousness (Yi), courtesy (Li), wisdom (zhi), and faithfulness (Xin) expressed by Confucianism are different from the names of compassion, charity (dāna), honor (satkāra), no pride, wisdom, and abstention from false speech expressed by Buddhism, but their purposes are the same, aimed at cultivating the people and showing mercy to the public. Could it be said that they are different from each other? (Explanation of Jizi, Collection of Tanjin, Volume 8)

Although there are certain similarities between "the five precepts," compassion, and a few other tenets of Buddhism and "five constant virtues" of Confucianism, their emphasis, origins, purposes, and natures are different. In fact, Qi Song was trying to introduce Buddhism by means of Confucianism and discuss Buddhism through Confucianism.

Qi Song also highly praised the etiquette (Li), music (Yue), and golden mean (Zhong Yong) of the Confucian school saying, "Li and Yue is that the kingly way depends on and from which it is created" (*On Origin·Etiquette and Music, Collection of Tanjin,* Volume 5), "The golden mean of the Confucian school is the high point of etiquette and the origin of humanity and righteousness. Etiquette, music, punishment, politics, humanity, righteousness, wisdom, and faithfulness—these eight aspects belong to the golden mean of the Confucian school" (*Explanation of the Golden Mean of the Confucian School (One), Collection of Tanjin*, Volume 4). Qi Song deemed the etiquette and music as the basis of the success of the kingly way and unified them into the golden mean of the Confucian school. He thought that the doctrine of the golden mean of the Confucian school was consistent with the fundamental claim of Buddhism, "Because the golden mean is similar to my doctrine, therefore, I talk about it here" (*Explanation of the Golden Mean of the Confucian School (Four), Collection of Tanjin*, Volume 4). Further, he concluded in the following manner:

> Confucianism and Buddhism are the teachings of the Saints. Although they come from different traditions, they lead to a common destination. A Confucian is the person with great You-wei13 to the extent of a saint; a Buddhist is the person with great Wu-wei to the extent of a saint. A person with great You-wei is dedicated to governing the world, and a person with Wu-wei is dedicated to governing the mind.... So the person to govern the mundane world should be a Confucian, and the person to govern the supramundane world should be a Buddhist (Explanation of Jizi, Collection of Tanjin, Volume 8).

Both Confucianism and Buddhism are the doctrine of the saints for the governance of those leading the worldly life and those leading the supramundane life, respectively. What is called the governance of those leading the supramundane life refers to the governance of the mind. The governance of the world and the governance of the mind are interdependent and neither can be dispensed with. Although Confucianism and Buddhism differ on the stand of divisions of labor, their purpose is the same—to govern the people and the world and maintain the dominion of the feudal emperor. In order to discuss the similarity between Buddhism and Confucianism and to unite the two, it is essential to highlight the common aim of Confucianism and Buddhism to maintain and consolidate the autocratic dominion.

The Yuan dynasty's Dehui (德辉) recompiled *The Monastic Regulations* composed by Baizhang under the Imperial Decree, which began with the "Congratulation Chapter"

[13]In Chinese philosophy, the term "You-wei" means "taking action in a desirable manner" which is different from the Buddhist term "*asamkrta*," and the term "Wu-wei" means "not taking an active action," or "inaction" which is different from the Buddhist term "*asaṃskṇa*." Note made by translator.

and the "Gratitude Chapter," praising and holding in esteem the emperor, and was followed by the "Recompense Chapter" that described sustaining the Buddha, and the "Ancestor Chapter" as reminiscing the founder of the Zen School. This is an important indicator of the method by which Buddhism further compromised and conceded with Confucianism to spread locally.

In modern times, the school of Neo-Confucianism became the critical target of well placed bourgeoisie, and the Confucian morality showed a tendency to breakdown under such impact. The reformists and democrats of bourgeoisie turned to Mahāyāna Buddhism for moral incentive. They believed that Confucianism alone was not enough to govern the world and that only Buddhism could rebuild public morality and save the world. Only the promotion of the spirit of self-respect and the intrepidity of Buddhism were able to embody the world-famous man who was capable of regulating the family, managing the state, and conquering the world. Zhang Taiyan (章太炎) in the *Speech of Welcome to the Meeting of Overseas Students in Tokyo* stated that "the use of the religion (i.e., Buddhism) was to build confidence and enhance national morality." He exhorted people to give up *akuśala* and follow *kuśala* by using the dogmata of the Mind-only School and the practice of the Hua-yan School. He also said, "without speaking of non-arising, one cannot eliminate from the mind the fear of death; without breaking the view of *ātmiya*, one cannot eliminate money worship from the mind; without talking about equality, one cannot free the mind from [despising] the slave; without considering all sentient beings as the Buddha, one cannot eliminate retrogression from the mind; without clarifying the three *karmas* (*kāya, vak, and manas*), one cannot cleanse the mind of [grasping] matter (不能去德色心)" (*On the Establishment of Religion*).

The teachings of Buddhism were esteemed to be the effective prescriptions for purifying the human mind and cultivating pleasant virtues. Buddhist morality, through reconstruction and promotion by the scholars of the bourgeoisie, played an active role under the specific historical conditions. However, due to the weakness of the bourgeoisie and the limitation of the Buddhist morality, the latter's active role also disappeared with the failure of the reformation and the revolution of the bourgeoisie.

2.4 The Mundane Patriarchal Clan System and Buddhist Filial Piety

The concept of moral ethics mostly expressed by Chinese Buddhism is "filial piety," which, therefore, becomes the focus of the moral ethics of Chinese Buddhism. It can be said that Chinese Buddhism developed its doctrine of moral ethics by considering filial piety as the focus point.

In ancient times, the autocratic Chinese society upon which Buddhism depended for survival used agriculture as its main economic lifeline, and its economic basis was the decentralized management method that took individual ownership of small blocks of land as the

precondition and the single family as the production unit. The male farmer was engaged in agricultural production and the female was engaged in weaving at home. They worked jointly for sustenance. Simultaneously, the farmer was also engaged in handicraft work and such products were mainly used for domestic consumption, not for exchange. Corresponding to this type of economy, the patriarchal clan system thus became the most important part of the superstructure. The characteristic of the autocratic system was that people had to live with the family surrounded by relatives of the same lineage within the same clan and the same town, thus forming a strict order of priority and humbleness. The landed class, by using traditional customs such as the same last name, mutual direct ancestor, common ancestral temple, and common graveyard, had established, through sacrificial activities, a set of rigorous autocratic patriarchal clan organizations that integrated blood lineage and social relations, which resulted in patriarchal clan thought. The patriarchal clan system called for acceptance of filial piety to parents, supporting and attending to relatives, the son's absolute obedience to the father and respect for ancestors as the fundamental rules of ethical and moral behavior. "Filial piety is the basis of morality" (*Book of Filial Piety*). "Filial piety is the fundamental core of humanity" (*the Analects of Confucius • Studies*). "Filial piety" became the axis of familial ethics in the autocratic Chinese society and an important lever in maintaining familial organization and autocratic order.

For the purpose of adapting to the Chinese autocratic patriarchal clan system and reconciling the contradiction with regard to renunciation and filial piety to parents, Buddhism made great efforts to promote the idea of filial piety. These efforts included a series of activities such as translations of Buddhist scriptures, papers, and special articles, compiling the Buddhist *sūtra*s (invented *sūtra*), commenting on *Ulambana Sūtra*, holding the Ulambana ceremony, and even common lectures.

The abovementioned *Mouzi's Theory for Clarifying Confusion* attempts to reconcile the contradiction between world renunciation and filial piety, and concentrate on their similarities. During the three-kingdom period, Kang Senghui, took great pains to promote the importance of filial piety in his book *Collection of the Six Perfections*, saying it is "preferable to give filial piety to parents" than to show generosity to the saints (*Collection of the Six Perfections, Chapter on Endless Generosity*), placing "filial piety to parents" above "generosity." Sun Chuo, who held a rank that bordered on a social stratum between senior officials and the common people in the East Jin dynasty, believed in Buddhism, and wrote the *Treatise on Dao Apprehension*, proclaiming that the monastic cultivation was a superior type of filial piety. His paper said, "The son becomes worshipful upon his father's nobleness, and the father becomes respectable upon the son's dignity. Therefore, what filial piety values is to gain fame and position, which brings honor to the ancestors forever" (*Collection of Hongming,* Fascicle 3). In Sun's opinion, filial piety rested on mainly not supporting and serving the parents, but in glorifying and illuminating the ancestors. A Buddhist monk left home to enter the sangha to disseminate Buddhism and cultivate himself; thus, gaining supreme dignity and glory, and this was considered the superlative filial piety. This was the moral judgment made on the basis of the religious value system,

aiming to provide the people with a visionary dignity and glory. Zhi Xu, one of the four greatest Buddhist masters of the Ming dynasty, also wrote *Perspectives on Filial Piety, Preface to Popularized Filial Piety* and some other articles taking great pains to praise filial piety by stating that "all the doctrines and theories in the world take filial piety as the principal purpose" (*Perspective on Filial Piety, Doctrines of Lingfeng School*, Part 2, Volume 4). "Confucianism considers filial piety as fundamental for every behavior, and Buddhism takes filial piety as the principal purpose of attaining Dao (*mārga*)" (Inscription on Superlative Filial Piety, *Doctrines of the Lingfeng School*, Part 2, Volume 4), which deemed filial piety as the fundamental purpose of Buddhism among the doctrines and theories of the world, pointing to the conformity of Confucianism and Buddhism.

The *Treatise of Filial Piety* written by Qi Song (refer to *Assistance in Teaching (Part B), Collection of Tanjin,* Volume 3), which consists of twelve chapters, is an important literary text that discusses filial piety in the greatest detail in terms of the system and comprehension, and provides a new summary of the previous treatises on filial piety by the Buddhist scholars. The preface to the *Treatise on Filial Piety* says, "Filial piety is worshiped by every doctrine, especially, Buddhism, although the description therein is not well known to the world." For the purpose of disseminating the Treatise on Buddhism on filial piety worldwide, the author "put forth the deep meaning and great significance of filial piety of the saint" to "meeting with the doctrine of Confucianism." Qi Song, through the four aspects elaborated on below, combined the explanations of Buddhism and Confucianism on filial piety and proclaimed the unity of *śīla* and filial piety.

Filial piety is the unalterable principle. "The Dao is the source of God; the teacher is the source of teaching; the parents are the source of birth. These three are the great sources in the world" (*Treatise of Filial Piety·Filial Principle (Two)*). The parents are the principle source of birth of every person and thus one of the "three sources" in the world. Therefore, the repayment of the kindness of parents and filial piety to them is the ultimate principle in the world. "Heaven and earth have the same principle as filial piety," "filial piety is the universally accepted principle and conduct of the people" (*Treatise of Filial Piety·Original Filial Piety (Three)*). Filial piety is the unalterable principle and the universally accepted moral truth. This is to demonstrate filial piety from the fundamental principle of heaven and earth and the inner consciousness of repaying the kindness of parents, which differs from filial piety, which is subject to the compulsory duties of Confucianism. The former may be said to be a supplement to the theory of filial piety of the latter.

Filial piety, śīla, and virtue are united as one. "Filial piety comes before *mahāśīla*" (*Treatise on Filial Piety·Filial Palpability (One)*). The Buddhist *mahāśīla* considers filial piety as the priority. According to the book, "The five precepts contain the meaning of filial piety" (*Treatise on Filial Piety·Filial Precept (Seven)*). "The saint's virtue begins with filial piety; it is not virtue for the performance of virtue without putting it in the starting place (*Treatise on Filial Piety•Filial Necessity (Five)*), the saint's performance of virtue begins with filial piety." The book also says, "Filial piety derives from virtue" (*Treatise on*

Filial Piety • Filial Genesis (Eight)), filial piety originates from virtue, and there is filial piety in virtue. According to the text, "*Śīla* is the source of every virtue" (*Treatise on Filial Piety • Filial Palpability (One)*). It can be said thereupon that filial piety, *śīla,* and virtue are one, in which, filial piety is the Buddhist *śīla* and the morality mandatory for Buddhists, and even the foundation of becoming a Buddha.

Performing filial piety sincerely and practicing śīla is necessary for seeking blessings and supporting parents. "In the present world, seeking blessings is not as *kuśala* as performing filial piety, and performing filial piety is not as *kuśala* as practicing *Śīla*" (*Treatise of Filial Piety • Filial Precepts (Seven)*). "The Buddhist monk must practice frugality in food and clothes in order to support his parents" (*Treatise on Filial Piety • Filial Conduct (One)*). It is better to conduct filial piety than to seek blessings, and it would be better to practice *śīla* than to conduct filial piety. In other words, practicing *śīla* and filial piety are for the purpose of producing happiness. Buddhist monks also economize on food and clothing in order to support their parents.

Three years of sincere mourning. The Confucian duty of mourning for parents is to wear the mourning apparel for three years, but Indian Buddhism doesn't propose wearing the mourning apparel and weeping with grief upon the death of relatives. Qi Song compromised between these two views, claiming that it was not appropriate for a Buddhist monk to wear common mourning apparel upon the death of his/her parents and that the coarse cloth, that is, the ecclesiastical robe worn by the Buddhist monks was the mourning apparel. He also said, "To mourn for three years, to practice undisturbed, to pray for the parents in the nether world" (*Treatise on Filial Piety • Filial Finality (One, Two)*). The mourning described here meant that the disciple was not supposed to wear mourning apparel upon the death of the master but only mourn for his master in his heart. In Qi Song's opinion, a Buddhist monk would mourn in his heart upon the death of the parents, and practice dharma in a quiet place in order to assist his/her parents to acquire blessings in the nether world.

All in all, Qi Song believed that the *śīla* of Buddhism was entirely in conformity to the filial piety of Confucianism, and that the filial piety of Buddhism exceeded, that is, was superior to, that of Confucianism. Buddhism paid more attention and gave more respect to filial piety than other sects.

Chinese Buddhist scholars, in addition to writing articles explaining filial piety, directly compiled Buddhist *sūtras* especially on filial piety, and created the basis of *sūtras*, so as to strengthen the grounds for argument. For instance, the *Fumu-en-zhong-jing* was completed in around the early Tang dynasty. It described the deep feelings of the mother and the son among the common people, introducing the kindness of the parents and the filial piety of the son, and stressing the necessity to repay the kindness of parental pregnancy and breeding. It called for compiling *sūtras*, burning incense, and worshiping the Buddha. It also advocated making offerings to the three jewels or the three precious ones, that is the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha, and giving generously to the Buddhist *sangha* for the purpose of

accumulating blessing for parents. This *sūtra* was composed under the stimulation and influence of Confucianism during the transmission of Buddhism, and at the same time, it also became the reading material for assisting Confucianism in educating the common people.

The *Fumu-en-zhong-jing* was widely available and survived for a very long time in different versions; some versions even included illustrations, for example, *the Allotropy of Parental Love, the Language of Parental Love, Transformation Tableaus of Parental Love*. All of these had far-reaching influences. Another example is the *Brahmajāla Sūtra*, also called *Bodhisattva-śīla-sūtra*, translated by Kumārajīva in the post Qin dynasty as is shown in the inscriptions. According to this *sūtra*, "The Śākyamuni Buddha, sitting under the *bodhi* tree at the very beginning, attained supreme enlightenment, initially forming *bodhi pratimoksa*, filial to the three gems of parents, master, and samgha. Filial piety complies with Dao and is named *Śīla*." It stressed that one should above all be filial and compliant to the parents, master, and *sangha*, and combined filial piety with *Śīla*, saying that filial piety is the very essence of *Śīla*. The *Brahmajāla Sūtra* also had a significant influence on Chinese Buddhist ideology.

In order to demonstrate that it is observant of filial piety, Buddhism combines filial activities with Buddhist ceremonies, and endeavors to create an atmosphere conducive to pursuing filial activities among the public. The Indian sūtra, the *Ulambana Sūtra* (translated by Zhufahu in the West Jin dynasty) is known as a *Buddhist Sūtra of Filial Piety* among Chinese Buddhist scholars. It tells the story of Maudgalyāyana, a disciple of Śākyamuni, who goes to hell in order to save his mother from being cut up by ghouls, prominently reflecting the spirit of filial piety, suited to the customs of China. Since the time of the Tang dynasty, many Chinese Buddhist scholars have written successive commentaries on this *sūtra*, among which, the two-volume commentary on the *Ulambana Sūtra* written by Tang Zongmi is very famous. The commentary especially stresses that both Śākyamuni's and Maudgalyāyana's renunciation was to save their parents. *Ulambana Sūtra* says,

> The Buddhist disciple who is pursuing filial piety should recall his parents' kindness back to the previous seven generations of the parents thereof. And on July 15 every year, the Buddhist disciples should recall the kindness of their parents back to the previous seven generations of parents thereof, and make Ulambana in order to give generosity to the monks for the purpose of repaying the kindness and breeding of parents.

In accordance with such expression of saving one's own parents and even the previous seven generations of parents thereof, Chinese Buddhism observed an Ulambana ceremony, which was one of the largest festivals held in China each year for a very long time. It was a Buddhist ceremony deeply welcomed by the people in ancient times and widely popular in China since the time of the Tang and Song dynasties. Accordingly, the story of Maudgalyāyana's entry into hell to save his mother was represented variously via written word, pictorially, dramatization, etc and were widely popular throughout urban and rural areas. These played an important role in sustaining the cardinal guides and constant virtues as well as the patriarchal clan system of Confucianism.

2.5 Doctrine of Buddha Nature and Methods of Cultivation

The ethical and moral ideologies of Chinese Buddhism are established on the basis of the theoretical analysis of human characteristics and human nature. The Buddhist theory on human nature was expressed in the form of the theory on Buddha nature, reflecting the connection and difference with the indigenous Chinese doctrine of human nature. The different sects of Chinese Buddhism also put forward the ways and methods of giving up *akuśala*, following *kuśala*, and becoming a Buddha by practising Buddhism, which bore a direct resemblance to the methods of Confucian ethical cultivation since the Song dynasty.

2.5.1 Theory of Buddha Nature

Human nature as explained by many well know Chinese ideologists since the pre-Qin dynasty (221—206 BC) focused on exploring the special attributes of human beings that were superior to animals, such as the differences between humans and animals and what human nature was superior to animals. The so-called "nature" in "Buddha nature" as per Buddhism does not mean attribute, but "sphere," also called "the Buddha sphere." The "sphere" means "cause," that is, the cause of a particular nature (质因). The Buddha nature is an elaboration of the basis and conditions required for sentient beings to become a Buddha. The perspectives and origins of human nature and Buddha nature are different, and so is the scope thereof. The theory of human nature is human-oriented, the theory of Buddha nature, however, has all sentient beings including humans, celestial beings, ghosts, and animals as its center. Nevertheless, there is correspondence between them. The traditional Chinese theory of human nature mainly talks about human nature as either good or evil as well as the attainment of sainthood. The theory of Buddha nature on the other hand encompasses much more. As far as the meaning of Buddha nature is concerned, in addition to mental nature (including original mind and nature of humans), it also refers to the true wisdom of understanding everything in the world. It further corresponds with object and truth, and refers to the essential and original nature of things as well as the ontological reality and principle of everything in the universe. However, the theory of Buddha nature also talks about the original nature being good or evil, and therefore has similar connotations with the traditional Chinese theory of human nature. In addition, although Chinese Buddhism talks about issues pertaining to the Buddha nature of all sentient beings, even of grass and trees, it is primarily still human-oriented when it comes to talking about "sentient beings." Therefore, the theory of Buddha nature elaborated by Chinese Buddhist scholars subsumes the theory of human nature, or to a certain extent, the theory of Buddha nature is the theory of human nature.

The theory of Buddha nature is an important theoretical issue in the history of Chinese Buddhism. It is the core of the Buddhist theories during the period of the Southern and Northern dynasties, and it was also the basic theory of the important Buddhist sects

in the Sui and Tang dynasties. The critical divergence and debate on the issue of Buddha nature among Chinese Buddhist scholars was: do all sentient beings have Buddha nature? Does an "*icchantika*" have Buddha nature and will he/she be able to attain Buddhahood? Ancient India was an unequal society dominated by caste system. When this was reflected in Buddhist tenets, it was seen that although Mahāyāna Buddhism generally claims that all sentient beings have Buddha nature, there were also some who held the opinion that the *icchantikas* have no Buddha nature. The "Existent" school (*astivada*) of Mahāyāna Buddhism itself opined that there exists a type of person "with sentience but without (Buddha) nature" who is unable to become a Buddha. This type of theory, which rejected the notion that all sentient beings have Buddha nature, not only weakened the attraction of Buddhism among the large majority of laboring people but also deviated spiritually from the Confucian principle that claims "everyone can be Yao and Shun." It could not adapt to the need of the autocratic ruling class in strengthening its ideological governance. Therefore, during the period of the East Jin and Song dynasties, Zhu Daosheng, a famous Buddhist scholar, advocated that an *icchantika* too has Buddha nature and might become a Buddha. Later on, the schools of Tian-tai, Hua-yan, and Zen also held that every person could become a Buddha. However, Xuanzhuang, Kuiji, etc., being influenced by the Yogācāra School of Indian Buddhism, still insisted that there was a type of person who could not become Buddha. This prevented it [Xuanzhuang's school] from being further transmitted. The claim in Chinese Buddhism that everybody can become a Buddha provides a basis for the Buddhist cultivation of ethics and morality and echoes the conception of a saint in Confucianism.

The influence of Chinese Confucian ideas on human nature being good or evil causes some Chinese Buddhist scholars also to discuss Buddha nature in terms of benignity and malignity. For instance, the Tian-tai School thinks that "nature" has every mark of reality and that benignity, malignity, purity, and defilement all exist in the minds of Buddhas and all sentient beings alike. Nature is what is congenital and contains both benignity and malignity; cultivation comes into effect at a later stage and can also be good and evil. A Buddha, due to malign nature, manifests as a hellish being. An *icchantika*, because of his benign nature not being cut off, can also attain Buddhahood through cultivation. Another example is Yanshou, a famous Buddhist monk of the Fa-yan School in the period of the Five dynasties and the Song dynasty, who further divided congenital nature and cultivation into two kinds of benignity and malignity:

> If taken from the point of view of [innate] nature, both benignity and malignity cannot be removed whether it is within worldly people or saints; Buddhas, due to not having cut off the malignity in nature, can manifest a body of hell; an icchantika, due to not having cut off the benignity in nature, always possesses the essence of Buddha-fruit. If seen from the point of view of cultivation in benignity or malignity, there would be difference in deeds, difference in cause and effect, and difference between the foolish and the wise. By cultivating a single moment of benign thought, one can reach the grounds of enlightenment from a distant place; by giving rise to a single moment of malign thought, one will be submerged in the cycle of suffering (Collection of a Myriad of Wholesomeness in Same Destination, Volume B).

The Buddhas, common people, and *icchantikas* all possess good and evil nature, but they differ in terms of acquired bahavior. Yanshou also said, "Although he does not cut off malignity in nature, a Buddha will not reach malignity [through action]. Because of having insight into that which is malign, he gains mastery over it and therefore will not be defiled by it" (*Record of the Mirror of Orthodoxy*, Fascicle 17). The Buddha does not cut off malignity in nature, but does not practice it either. The Buddha, by using the malign dharma-gates, goes to the hells for the purpose of enlightening all sentient beings but would not be defiled by malignity. Zhi Li (知礼), a Buddhist monk from Tian-tai School in the Song dynasty, thought that there is originally ignorance or *avidyā* in the essential nature of everything and that within the essential nature of all sentient beings, there exists, besides the Buddha nature, the malignity nature which is the gene of cyclical existence of all sentient beings. Zhi Li explained cyclical existence with the malignity nature of all sentient beings and the attainment of Buddhahood with the benign nature of sentient beings. Buddhism generally believes the Buddha nature to be benign nature. However, Tian-tai School combines Buddha nature with the ideas of *kuśala* and *akuśala*, aimed at emphasizing the *karma* theory. The ancient Chinese scholars' doctrine of benignity and malignity in human nature reconciled the benignity-nature theory and malignity-nature theories, since its inception by Shi Shuo (a Confucian scholar in the period of the warring states), had far-reaching influence through the publicity and elucidation by Dong Zhongshu, Liu Xiang, Yang Xiong, and other Confucian scholars. The theory of benignity and malignity in Buddha nature was the profound reflection of the long-term dispute on benignity or malignity in human nature in ancient China as well as the succession and development of the ancient Chinese doctrine of the existence of both benignity and malignity in human nature.

Chinese Buddhist scholars, in their discussion of Buddha nature, also established Buddha nature from the perspective of "object," in addition to approaching the discussion from the perspectives of the human being and the mind. "Object" refers to the object perceived by the subject; here, it means the state grasped by the Buddhist wisdom, that is, the real ontological nature of all things. This real ontological nature is also referred to as "principle," namely the principle of reality. That is to say, [this] principle is taken as the Buddha nature. Zhu Daosheng said, "Since the principle does not become empty on account of 'I,' how can there be an 'I' to stop it? Therefore there is no 'I.'" This refers to the non-existence of "I" in the cycle of birth and death, but it does not mean there is no "I" from the point of view of Buddha nature.[14] "The 'principle' refers to reality, original nature, and Buddha nature, and is empty not due to the existence of this real ontological nature 'I', so how could it be that this 'I' could deter the existence of the 'principle'? The real ontological nature 'I' does not exist, it is non-self. But non-self here refers to the non-existence of the 'I', a person born of the 'Four Great Elements' of earth, water, fire, and wind who experiences birth and death, this 'I' does not really exist; but non-self does not mean there is no 'self in Buddha nature'; Buddha nature exists as a real ontological essence." In Zhu's mind, this principle was the very reason and basis of

[14]The *Commentary on Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*, T38, P354b.

becoming a Buddha. He said, "It is from the principle that the attainment of Buddhahood can be achieved. Therefore, the principle is the cause of Buddhahood."[15] The principle is the cause of Buddhahood, and so it is also Buddha nature. If one could grasp the principle, he would have obtained the "Truth" taught in Buddhism; hence, manifest the "Dharma-body," that is, he would have become a Buddha. Some Buddhist scholars, like Hui Ling, explained Buddha nature from the very aspect of obtaining the principle. He thought that all sentient beings had the innate ability to obtain the principle of becoming a Buddha, which was the decisive factor for becoming a Buddha. The viewpoint of Chinese Buddhist scholars on principle as Buddha nature significantly influenced ancient Chinese ethics and philosophy. Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucianism deemed the "principle," the sublimation of moral concept, as the ontological essence of everything in the world, which was consistent with the ideological route of Buddhism deeming principle as Buddha nature.

2.5.2 Methods of Cultivation

Buddhism attaches great importance to the method and way of cultivation. The purpose of cultivation expounded in early Buddhism was aimed at transcending cyclical existence and disengaging from birth and death to attain liberation. Later, this viewpoint saw further development in that the practice became the method of directly realizing the reality of the world, that is, to obtain the mystical experience—the Buddhist truth, not with an eye to abandoning birth and death. Indian Buddhism summarized the omnifarious methods and ways of cultivation into two aspects: concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*), also called calmness (*śamatha*) and insight (*vipaśyanā*). *Samādhi* or *śamatha* refers to *dhyāna* or meditative absorption, emphasizing the practice of Buddhist method of cultivation of thought. *Prajñā* or *vipaśyanā* refers to learning the Buddhist creed and tenets to cultivate Buddhist wisdom. During the period of Northern and Southern dynasties, the South paid attention to creed and tenets of Buddhism, and the North paid attention to its *dhyāna* or concentration aspect. Great Master Zhi Yi, the founder of Tian-tai School in the Sui dynasty, proposed that equal importance should be attached to the cultivation of *samādhi* and *prajñā* as well as *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*. He said,

> There are so many approaches to the cessation of all afflictions, but the most important shall be śamatha and vipaśyanā. It is because the former is the first door for the subordination of defilements and the latter is the key to end delusion; the former is to nourish the beneficial resources within the mind and the latter is to spur and initiate the marvelous skill of wondrous understanding; the former is the superior cause of concentration and the latter is the origin and support for wisdom. If one is able to achieve samādhi and prajñā … it should be known that these two things are like the two tracks (sic!) of a vehicle and the two wings of a bird: cultivating only one side, one would fall into evil and decline' (Outline of Practicing śamatha and vipaśyanā).

[15]The *Collective Explanation of MahapariNirvaṇa Sūtra*, T37, P547c.

That is to say that if one wishes to attain the state of nirvaṇa and achieve liberation, one must practice and make use of both the methods of *samādhi* and *prajñā*, and pay equal attention to both *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*. This is because only *śamatha* and *samādhi* can eliminate afflictions and create beneficial conditions for the increase in wisdom; only *vipaśyanā* and *prajñā* can eliminate the delusion and produce the right understanding and attainment. If only one side is practiced, the person will fall into evil ways and eventually be unable to achieve the goal of Buddhahood.

Chinese Buddhist scholars, with respect to the ways and methods of practice, mainly emphasize and concentrate on three issues, that is, the relationship between greed and truth, between ignorance and wisdom, and between deluded thought and intrinsic nature. In other words, during spiritual practice, emphasis would be laid on eliminating greed, ignorance, and deluded thoughts to realize truth so that one could achieve wisdom and enlightenment.

Relationship between greed and truth. Buddhism talks about this issue from the perspective of sufferings in life and liberation from these sufferings. In its opinion, every human is composed of a material form, feelings, rational activities, volitional activities, and the cognitive abilities with reference to the outside world; there is no permanent ontological entity. But human beings have this passionate love and inflexible desire for this living entity (Self); the objective world is also composed of various causes and conditions and is in constant change, but human beings also have a strong pursuit and possessive desire for the outside world (permanence). This desire and aspiration for self and permanence activate the human body, speech, and mind and produce various unwholesome actions (*akuśala karmas*), thus forming the misery of cyclic existence (*saµsāra*). In the opinion of Buddhism, the fact that human beings have desire and greed is because they do not understand the truth of "selflessness" and "impermanence" taught in Buddhism, a result of deviating away from the truth of universe and life. Therefore, Buddhism advocates the elimination of desires and the pursuit of truth through spiritual practice. Zhu Daosheng had been indefatigable in promulgating the tenet "to the bottom of the principle, to the fullest of nature."[16] "The Buddha emphasized primarily the thorough pursuit of truth."[17] "The Buddha is the essence of apprehending truth."[18] "The principle is the Buddha; contrary to that is the worldly man."[19] It means the people will become Buddhas upon apprehending the "ultimate principle of life and the universe," that is, apprehending the truth of the existence of the world. Zhu's promulgations above had a significant influence on the development of Buddhism in Sui and Tang dynasties; they also provided much inspiration for the formation of Neo-Confucianism of Song and

[16]The Commentary on Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra, T38, P375a.
[17]Ibid., P353c.
[18]Ibid., P360a.
[19]Ibid., P464. This note made by the author is not found in the original text – added by translator.

Ming dynasties. Buddhism advocates asceticism from the perspective of liberation of life, which ties in with and is complementary to the advocation of Confucianism on reduction of desires and abstinence from the perspective of social obligations and responsibilities and which is helpful in maintaining the order of autocratic governance.

Relation between ignorance and wisdom, deluded thought and self-nature. Chinese Buddhism, especially the School of Chan, also stresses that every person has innate wisdom. The Zen School's founder Hui Neng said, "People in the world are born with the wisdom of Enlightenment" (*Platform Sūtra*, Dunhuang transcript). "Within the material body itself, one innately has the original enlightened nature" (ibid). "From one's own mind the Tathāgata is realized, [from there] the great illumination of wisdom radiates forth" (ibid). The human mind is already enlightened; this enlightenment is based on our innate wisdom. Zong Mi, a scholar of Zen School and Hua-yan School, gave much clearer explanations:

> [Within] The empty and quiet mind, the gnostic awareness is not obscured. This very awareness of emptiness and tranquility is your true nature. Whether in delusion or in enlightenment, the mind has [this] awareness, which is produced from neither conditions nor [external] objects. This very word "awareness" is the door of myriad wonders (Collection of Explications on the Fountainhead of Chan, Part Two, Volume A).

Gnostic awareness (灵知), that is, the awareness of emptiness and tranquility, refers to the mental substance (心体). Awareness is the substance of pure mind (净心), and the pure mind considers awareness as substance. It is precisely because the mind is aware that the mind is [ever] nimble and unobscured. Gnostic awareness is the real and original nature of all individuals; human minds already possess such awareness right from the start, although they are not conscious of its existence, such awareness still exists all the time irrespective of [the mind] being in delusion or in a state of enlightenment. Zong Mi, through this new concept of gnostic awareness being mental substance, explained the real meaning of Zen School's transmission from mind to mind (以心传心). He said, "The word awareness is the door of myriad wonders." Zong Mi laid special stress on the word "awareness." He thought [this] awareness is equivalent to that of the Buddha's wisdom; it is actually the Buddha's wisdom and the real nature innate in human beings.

According to the doctrine of the Zen School, gnostic awareness and wisdom are the real nature (真性) of humans, that is, the self-nature (自性) and original nature (本性) of humans, which is one's own mind. People will attain liberation and become Buddhas if they are able to know their original mind (本心) and original nature. Hui Neng said,

> Buddhas of the three times [past, present and future] and the twelve classes of scriptures are originally present in human nature… Be clear within and without, know [your] own mind; knowing [your] own mind means liberation (Platform Sūtra, Dunhuang transcript).

The crux of the problem of a person not becoming a Buddha is that self-nature is obscured by deluded thoughts. Hui Neng said,

> People in the world are pure by nature, just like blue sky… obscured by the fleeting clouds of deluded thoughts, the self-nature cannot shine through. Hence, acquaintance with good spiritual friends (kalyaöamitra, 善知识) who proclaim the true teachings, blowing off the delusions, the internal and external (worlds) become clear and limpid; within the self-nature, all dharmas are seen. The state of being at ease with all dharmas is named the pure dharma-kāya (ibid.)

"The state of being at ease with all dharmas" is suchness (*tathata*), or dharma nature (*dharmata*), also called "pure *dharma-kāy*a." In other words, the pure *dharma-kāya* is Buddha nature and self-nature itself. The original nature of humans is pure, just like the blue sky, but this pure nature will not be evident, if obscured by the fleeting clouds of deluded thought. Therefore, if one could meet with an enlightened being who could enlighten others, one can eliminate deluded thoughts, manifest everything in self-nature, and embody the nature of Buddha, thus becoming a Buddha. This is the meaning of the famous line "Become a Buddha upon seeing nature." This essential thought of "Become a Buddha upon seeing nature" raised by the Zen School rests with the self-examination of and a return to self-nature and self-awareness, it also rests on the subject (i.e., the individual) experiencing and realizing the reality of the cosmic totality, that is, unity with nature. In fact, this is a kind of internal spiritual state oriented toward naturalism.

Indian Buddhism often says "the nature of the mind is originally pure but is polluted by adventitious defilements." Chinese Buddhism says that the mind is originally enlightened but is obscured by deluded thoughts (Cf. *Treatise on the Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*). Enlightenment refers to realization and wisdom, and differs from purity, which means immaculacy and wholesomeness (*kuśala*); it has the element of function and connotes mobility. This is significantly different from that described in Indian Buddhism, wherein more emphasis is laid on exercising the subjective mobility functions. In addition, enlightenment is also awareness, and this [point] gives more prominence to the subjective function of understanding. Further, since the mind, which is originally enlightened is only obscured by deluded thoughts, and the original nature of enlightenment is not changeable and exists permanently, therefore, when deluded thoughts are eliminated, the erroneous understanding and views corrected, then Buddhahood will be attained. This makes it rapid and easy to practice becoming a Buddha.

It should be pointed out that the Buddhist methods of cultivation had significant influence on the moral cultivation method of Neo-Confucianism of Song and Ming dynasties. The Neo-Confucianists advocated "quietness" and "respect" and changed the Buddhist *dhyāna* or concentration to sitting meditation. They advocated quietness and thought that it is only through quietude that selfish desires could be eliminated and one would conform to the Universal Law [literally, Law of Heaven]; this would break the barrier between the "small self" and the "Great Self" (Heaven and Earth, the universe), thus connecting with the Great Self and conforming to virtues of Heaven and Earth. They also absorbed the Zen mode of practice of "directly pointing to one's mind" and "becoming Buddhas upon seeing [one's] nature," stressing the importance of "mind." Zhu Xi said,

"Within the one mind in man, human desires will perish if the Law of Heaven exists; the Law of Heaven will perish if human desires win" (*Quotations From Zhu Zi*, Fascicle 3). The human mind is the key to the victory or defeat between the Law of Heaven and human desires. Therefore, they quoted from the *Counsels of Great Yu - in the Book of Ancients* four sentences—"[The] human mind is fickle, [the] aspiration toward Dao is weak; [with] sheer effort and single-mindedness, sincerity reigns and thereby [one abides in] the Middle' and explained them according to the standard of the Buddhist cultivation as the classic basis of preserving the Law of Heaven and eliminating human desires, which had become the sixteen-word *mantra* for Neo-Confucianists to "cultivate moral character and nurture one's nature."

2.6 Characteristics of Chinese Buddhist Ethics

From the discussion of the few aspects mentioned above, we can deduce the relation between Buddhism and Chinese ethics as well as the salient features of Chinese Buddhist ethics itself. Since its introduction into China, Buddhism has been reconciled with the autocratic patriarchal clan system and ethical system of Confucianism in the form of Chinese translation. It can be said that Chinese Buddhist ethics, since the very beginning, bears the brand of Confucianism. With the evolvement of history, the reconciling flavor also gained intensity, so much so that by the Song dynasty, Buddhism accorded filial piety with such absolute and extreme esteem to play up to the Chinese moral mentality that one might say they "confucianized" Buddhist ethics.

All the while, Buddhist ethics were unable to occupy a dominant position within the realm of ancient Chinese ethics and morality. Although it was independent in some aspects (for instance, some Buddhist scholars insisted that Buddhist clerics should not bow down before the king, and that Buddhist clerics should don the ecclesiastical robes), Buddhism mainly absorbed and reconciled with the Confucian morality and ethics to rebuild and enrich itself, basically, playing the supporting role to Confucianism while exercising its social function. Buddhism discusses the supreme importance of filial piety from the perspective of supramundane teachings, explains asceticism from the perspective of liberation from life. From the perspective of the relationship between epistemology and the theory of human nature,[20] Buddhism puts forward the view that awareness and wisdom are the ontological substance of the human mind and the original nature of humans, as well as a complete set of method of cultivation. All of these are important thoughts that have enriched the Chinese theories of ethics and morality; moreover, in some significant sense and to a certain degree, they have supplemented the contents of Confucian ethics and morality. Simultaneously, they caused the Neo-Confucianists to recognize the importance of stirring from the depth of the human mind, the strength of awe and motivation derived from self-consciousness to practice the

[20]"利" in the original text is a typing error of "到."

feudal ethics and morality. Thus, it can be seen that although Confucianism always attacked Buddhism, it also absorbed Buddhist concepts of ethics and morality to enrich itself. The tenets of the Neo-Confucianism of the Song and the Ming dynasties on ethics and morality reflected only the ideological mark of Buddhist ethics and morality. It is obvious that the mutual influence between Confucianism and Buddhism would necessarily result in a change in the ideology of ethics and morality in both camps.

The most prominent and classical reflection of sinicization of Buddhism is the "confucianization" of ethics and morality. Indian Buddhism also has some literary works in relation to loyalty to kings and filial piety to parents, but they do not rank among the important works. The difference between Chinese Buddhism and Indian Buddhism in the theory of ethics and morality is mainly revealed in the attention paid to loyalty and filial piety in Chinese Buddhism, especially in the special form of taking *Śīla* as filial piety and considering *Śīla* as filial piety. In brief, the fundamental characteristic of Chinese Buddhism, which distinguishes itself from Indian Buddhism, is the adoption of filial piety as the core from which reconciliation with Confucian ethics [evolved].

Buddhist ethics expound "giving up evil (*akuśala*) and complying with wholesomeness (*kuśala*)." It should be said that in a class society, there may be diverse and even conflicting interpretations of *kuśala* and *akuśala* among people of different class. It was near impossible to reconcile various conflicts of interest and unify the concept of *kuśala* and *akuśala*. Therefore, the Buddhist concept of *kuśala* and *akuśala* is quite abstract. It is similar to the abovementioned "abstinence from killing," the laboring masses may use it to oppose the suppression of autocratic governors, but the latter may also use it to fight against the revolution of the former. History has shown that the autocratic rulers could completely suppress, and cause massacres and war through the theory of cause and effect and that the laboring masses (including the Buddhists of lower social strata) who lived in utter misery, could fight against the autocratic rulers (including the Buddhist clerics of upper social strata) when pushed to the limits of their endurance. So, the review of Buddhist concept of *kuśala* and *akuśala* in social life shows that it has an aspect of sincerity, as well as one of hypocrisy.

"Great loving kindness and compassion" and "benefit both oneself and others" is the origin of Buddhist ethics and morality, which converges with the "heart of compassion" and benignity nature theory of Confucianism, and is close to the traditional Chinese culture that considers the state as standard and people as its basis. Thus, Buddhist ethics have had a considerably significant influence. It is completely legitimate to state that this Buddhist moral concept is also abstract, and may be utilized by different classes in a class society, thereby producing two contrasting functions—positive or negative. The negative function is the basic role in a society ruled by the exploiting class and needs careful analysis and criticism. Concurrently, we should also acknowledge that, after all, the Buddhist moral concept was once deemed as the ideal ethic in history (e.g., in Chinese modern history). It played a certain progressive function and enriched the excellent traditional morality of China. In view of this, Buddhist ethics and morality are also worthy of our critical attention and inheritance.

CHAPTER

3

Buddhism and Chinese Philosophy

Of the three Buddhist teachings (*śīla*, *samādhi*, and *prajñā*), *prajñā* or wisdom include varied and deep philosophical thoughts on life and the universe. The fundamental aim of Buddhism is to attempt to go beyond the mundane world so as to achieve physical and mental liberation. To achieve this, Buddhist scholars always seek to understand the "reality" of life and the universe in order to develop a unique perspective on life and the world. When Buddhism was introduced into China, the philosophical theory of "emptiness" propagated by Buddhism was first influenced and modified by the existing philosophy of metaphysics in the Wei and Jin dynasties. Later, the higher abstract thoughts of Mādhyamika of India was utilized for a critique of the philosophy of metaphysics. During the period of the Eastern Jin and Southern and Northern dynasties, there was a fierce ideological struggle between two camps: pro-Buddhism and anti-Buddhism. As discussed in the previous chapter on "Buddhism and Chinese Ethics," since its introduction into China, Buddhism was locked in constant antagonism and confrontation with the Confucian ethics epitomized by the "three mainstays of social order and the five constant virtues," giving rise to the debate of whether *śramaṇas* should kneel down before the emperors. The debate on the differences between the ethical and moral concepts of Buddhism and Confucianism was the most intense, and revealed the vast chasm between Buddhism and Chinese traditional culture and ideology. Also, there was intense struggle between the theory of soul annihilability and the theory of soul eternity, which paralleled the struggle between karma and anti-karma. During the Sui and Tang dynasties, sectarian Buddhist scholars tried to bring about innovation in philosophical thoughts based on the existing intrinsic thoughts in China. Buddhist philosophical theories of cosmology, ontology, epistemology, and temperament played an important role in shaping the philosophical theories of that period. They enriched and led to the further development of ancient Chinese philosophy, and influenced and changed its characteristics and course of evolution. Later, the Chinese Buddhist philosophical theory of soul eternity and the doctrine of emptiness, that is, everything is empty, were rebuked by Neo-Confucianists

of the Song and Ming dynasties. However, the Buddhist doctrine of temperament was assimilated by Neo-Confucianists. In modern times, Buddhist philosophy was transformed and utilized by a group of progressive thinkers. Buddhist philosophy and Chinese philosophy not only influenced and assimilated aspects of the other but also challenged and contradicted each other. The mutual influence of Buddhist and Chinese philosophies gradually led to the nationalization and sinicization of Buddhist philosophy; thus, Buddhist philosophy became a type of Chinese philosophy of religion.

3.1 Buddhism and Taoism of Alchemists in the Han Dynasty

When Buddhism was first introduced into China during the Han dynasty, the sutras of Zen (the theory on self-cultivation methods of meditation) and *prajñā* (theory about the nature of everything being empty) were the two main sutras to be introduced and translated. At that time, *prajñā* did not have much influence in society. People regarded Buddha as a god similar to Huangdi and Laozi, and considered Huangdi and Laozi as well as stupa (i.e., Buddha) as equal objects of worship to which sacrifices were made. In the *Biography of Chu Prince Ying*, *The History of Eastern Han,* Volume 42, it is said that Chu Prince Liu Ying, a son of Emperor Guangwu in the Han dynasty placed the idols of Śākyamuni, Huangdi, and Laozi adjacent to each other to worship. During the reign of Emperor Huan (147–167 AD), marquees were set up in the palace to enshrine Huangdi, Laozi, and stupas. "It was reported that the temple for Huangdi, Laozi, and the stupas was established in the palace. This region is tranquil, and upholds inaction, loving life and abhorring killing, reducing greed, and avoiding extravagance" (*Biography of Xiangkai*, the *History of Eastern Han,* Volume 30 II). People considered Buddha to be a god similar to those in traditional Chinese superstition and believed that Buddhism was some type of Taoist magic art, practicing which one could receive god's blessing. Huangdi and Laozi texts uphold quietness and inaction, while Buddhism also advocates tranquility and inaction. A set of meditation methods in Zen Buddhism is also regarded as immortal methods for training the body and spirit and enabling the practitioner to fly to heaven:

> Once upon a time, Emperor Xiaoming dreamed of a god who was flying before the palace with daylight around him. The emperor was very puzzled about this and so the next day, he asked his ministers: "What god is this?" Fu Yi, the minister who knew it said: "I heard there are people who have got Tao in India, called Buddha. They can fly in the air with sunlight around them and are almost their gods" (Chapter 20, Theory of Clarifying Confusions).

Although Buddhism also places emphasis on supernatural powers, it does not advocate preserving health and mind, immortality, and body's flight to heaven. This shows that the Chinese at that time approached and interpreted Buddhism using the teachings of

Huangdi and Laozi and concepts on immortals and alchemists, thus deviating from the original purpose and characteristics of Buddhism. However, it was primarily because the teachings of Buddhism were considered similar to the philosophical thoughts of Huangdi and Laozi in China and because Buddhism propounded ideologies similar to those of alchemists that Buddhism spread rapidly across China.

3.2 Development of Buddhism from Relying on Metaphysics to Supplementing Metaphysics

Since the Wei and Jin dynasties, Zen declined in prominence and became a secondary religion. Concurrently, metaphysics reached its zenith, on account of which *prajñā* also started to receive increasing attention and advocacy of the rulers and the Buddhist scholars. Thus, *prajñā* became accepted as a method of study under the powerful influence of metaphysics. Until the late Eastern Jin dynasty, *prajñā* had always been regarded as part of mainstream Buddhism. The spread of *prajñā* passed through three stages including "Geyi," "Six Schools and Seven Sects," and "The Unreal Emptiness" of Seng Zhao, which also highlighted the ideological shift from relying on the theories of metaphysics to supplementing metaphysics.

After the translation of *Prajñā Attainment Sutram* by Lokaksema toward the end of the Han dynasty, *prajñā* classics were successively introduced into China. Kumārajīva, a well-known scholar of Mādhyamika, had systematically translated and spread the doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism. However, before these were made available, Chinese scholars developed two schools of thought—"Geyi" and "Six Schools and Seven Sects"—in an attempt to interpret *prajñā*. Seng Zhao, an important assistant of Kumārajīva, when translating the scriptures said, "Since Buddhism was introduced into China, although Buddhism has been interpreted and discussed, Geyi (matching concepts) is pedantry and sluggish and disagrees with the original meanings of Buddhism. Also, the Six Schools' understanding of *prajñā* is illiberal and does not fit well with the original meanings" ("Preface to the Vimalakīrti Sūtra," *Collection of Records on the Emanation of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Volume 8). He criticized that Geyi went against the original meaning of Buddhism, and the Six Schools deviated from the intent of Buddhism. This was a result of the complexity of *prajñā* theories and the differences between those theories and the traditional Chinese way of thinking. This situation could also be attributed to the fact that the important texts of *prajñā* had not been translated until that time and the quality of translation was not good. These discrepancies were the result of the direct influence of the ideologies of Laozi and Zhuangzi and that of different schools of metaphysics in the Wei and Jin dynasties. Shi Daoan, a Buddhist leader in the Eastern Jin dynasty explained the reasons for the discrepancy by arguing "Because the doctrines of Laozi and Zhuangzi from China are similar to your scriptures, these scriptures have become popular" ("Preface to the Vinaya"). He believed that Buddhism could become popular only when it was in harmony with the inherent thoughts and culture of China.

"Geyi" employs terms, concepts, and categories used in China, especially those used in the Laozi and Zhuangzi doctrines, to compare with terms, concepts, and categories in the Buddhist *Prajñā*. The "*Prajñā*–Sūtra" includes a series of concepts and categories that elaborate cosmic phenomena and the outside world, and needs to be translated. The *Prajñā–Sutra* also includes a series of *Shishu* (terms) that explain *Prajñā* theory such as Five Skandhas, Twelve Bases, and Eighteen Dhātu, which analyze the psychological and physical phenomena. Therefore, some Buddhist scholars such as Kang Falang and Zhu Faya created the Geyi method of similarity comparison and focused on chapters and sentences. Ya (Zhu Faya) and Kang Falang, among others, planned to use other books and provide a comparative explanation of the terms and examples in the scriptures; this is called "Geyi" (*Zhu Faya Biography, Eminent Monks Biographies*, Volume 4). Daoan was of the opinion that "the old Geyi mostly violated the truth" (*Biography of Shi Daoan, Eminent Monks Biographies,* Volume 5). Although he expressed his dissatisfaction with the Geyi, he permitted Huiyuan, one of his star students to quote from books such as "Zhuangzi" to compare and illustrate things when interpreting the scripture, thus aiding comprehension of the scriptures. In fact, Daoan himself did not deviate from the method of borrowing terminology from the doctrines of Laozi and Zhuangzi to provide a comparison with the Buddhist texts.

So, although Daoan used the Geyi, he also had reservations against the Geyi, indicating that Geyi methods had already begun to be questioned. Daoan had begun to transfer Geyi to the Six Schools. At that time, famous monks such as Daoan and Zhidun (Zhidaolin) were all supported and advocated as being concise, clear, logical, and straightforward, who had good coherence and were structured in their approach. They established the Six Schools or the Six Schools and Seven Sects of *prajñā*. The representatives of the Six Schools or Six Schools and Seven Sects were as follows: [1]

Six Schools	**Seven Sects**	**Representatives**
Benwu	Benwu, Benwuyi	Daoan, Zhu Fashen, Zhu Fatai
Jise	Jise	Zhidun
Shihan	Shihan	Yu Fakai
Huanhua	Huanhua	Daoyi
Xinwu	Xinwu	Zhi Mindu, Zhu Fayun Daoheng
Yuanhui	Yuanhui	Yu Daosui

The Six Schools or Six Schools and Seven Sects of *prajñā* differed with regard to coherence of the divergences in the metaphysical thoughts in the Wei and Jin dynasties. The issues they argued upon, and their approach and ways of argument were all

[1]See Tang Yongtong: Buddhism History in the Han, Wei, Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties, Volume 1, P166-167, Beijing, Zhonghua Book Company, 1983.

influenced by metaphysics. The central issues of philosophy of the metaphysics in the Wei and Jin dynasties were to debate the so-called body and function, that is, the relationship between the fundamental and incidental and that of being and non-being. At that time, the theoretical central idea of *prajñā* was to discuss the questions of the fundamental, incidental, and emptiness (non-being). In fact, this is the analogy, extension, and development of twi-satyas of Indian *prajñā* in accordance with the ideology and scope of the metaphysics in the Wei and Jin dynasties, that is, "paramārtha" was explained as "non-being" of ontology and "samvrti-satya" as "being" of all things. Accordingly, it also involves questions on the relationship between the spirit and material and what is being and non-being. Different scholars formed different arguments and doctrines.

Based on the differences between their basic arguments, the Six Schools or Six Schools and Seven Sects could be thought of as three schools, namely Benwu School, Xinwu School, and Jise School (the arguments of Shihan School, Huanhua School, and Yuanhui School are similar to those of this school). The ideologies of these three schools—Benwu School, Xinwu School, and Jise School—rely on He Yan and Wang Bi's Guiwu theory, Pei De's Chongyou theory, and Guo Xiang's Duhua theory, respectively, of metaphysics in the Wei and Jin dynasties. Although the three schools of *prajñā* and that of metaphysics are not consistent in ideological form and/or theoretical logic, there is still roughly some relative corresponding relationship between them. It appears as though *prajñā* reproduced the course of ideological development of the metaphysics in the Wei and Jin dynasties. For example, Daoan from Benwu School believed that "non-being is prior to heaven and earth, and emptiness is the beginning images of everything, so it is called as Benyuan (original nature)" ("Seven Sects" by Xuanji, see *Biography of Xuanji, Biography of Zhidun, Eminent Monks Biographies Copy*). This opinion echoes that of He Yan's "Being can be being because it was generated from non-being" (Dao-lun, notes of Liezi - Tianrui), and Wang Bi's "all being start from non-being (Laozi - Commentary on Chapter 1), "All things in the universe are produced by being, being starts from non-being as the nature" (Laozi - Commentary on Chapter 40). According to historical records, Zhi Mindu, who established the Xinwu School, wanted to travel and go across the Yangtze River, so he invited a monk from Zhongzhou to be his companion. Upon discussion, they realized that promoting the old doctrines probably would not help them make a living south of the Yangtze River, so they decided to develop the Xinwu doctrines (New Collection of Anecdotes of Famous Personages). In order to adapt to the style of the metaphysics prevalent south of the Yangtze River, they hurriedly changed the old doctrines and put forth new interpretations. Zhi Mindu said that "If you are not interested in anything, it doesn't mean that everything is non-being" (see Seng Zhao's theory of Unreal Emptiness). He affirmed the existence of material phenomena. It was a school that bordered on materialism, and its ideas had much in common with the idea that "Since coming into being, it must have a body" (Chong-you-lun). The basic argument of Zhidun from the Jise School was that color is not produced by itself, so it is color but in fact it is not color (see Seng Zhao's "The Unreal Emptiness"). What he meant was that material phenomena are not formed by themselves, so it is not really material. It is a type of argument aimed at canceling the nature

and body of things. Guo Xiang said, "There is no creator and everything comes about by themselves" (Zhuangzi - Commentary on Chapter Zaiyou). He emphasized that material things have no objective reason and origin, and that all things are self-generated. This is also a type of argument that cancels the nature and body of things. Both ideas have a common underlying thought. Zhidun once wrote, "Ji-se-you-xuan-lun," meaning to apprehend the abstruse (xuan) state through material phenomena, which is similar to Guo Xiang's "independent growth." In Zhidun's written statement submitted to Emperor Aidi in the Ji dynasty, Zhidun promoted the proposal of *prajñā*—"visit unreal and abstruse shops, observe the sage rules, insist on five Buddhist disciplines and assist to implement kingly way" (Biography of Zhidun, Eminent Monks Biographies, Volume 4), "Often let things take their own course and everything will be returned to their rightful owners, implement correct reasons, and command public respect and support" (same as above). He eulogized the reason why one must have a sage's talent and virtue as well as follow the kingly way. This is exactly the same as Guo Xiang's idea that "although sages work for the government, their minds still remain in the wooded mountains" (Zhuangzi - Commentary on the Xiaoyaoyou). Because they relied on the schools of metaphysics, Buddhist *prajñā* schools lost their independence. Also, Buddhist *prajñā* doctrines differed from the Indian Buddhist *prajñā* doctrines, and were thus independent from Chinese Buddhist scholars to some extent.

Seng Zhao conducted a theoretical analysis and criticism of the emptiness nature theory promoted by the abovementioned three *Prajñā* schools. He pointed out that the Benwu School laid too much emphasis on the "non-being," ignoring the "being" aspect of things. He was also critical of the fact that Xinwu School only taught that one should not be enthusiastic about all things on earth, and did not deny the objective existence of external things. Furthermore, he believed that the Jise School only said that material phenomena did not have their own bodies; therefore, they were not self-generated and did not realize that the material phenomena itself was immaterial. Seng Zhao was of the opinion that these three schools did not understand the main points because they counter posed "non-being" and "being" ("body" and "use"), and only emphasized one aspect, so they were not in conformity with the Mahāyāna Upanishad. Seng Zhao used the relativism of Buddhist Mādhyamika to prove the world's emptiness, that is, not only classifying as being or non-being, rather neither being or non-being, both being and non-being, accrediting both being and non-being, coexistence of being and non-being, and combining being and non-being to constitute the meaning of emptiness. Such unification of being and non-being, not emphasizing only one of them, and being impartial are also called "mean," that is, "Mādhyamika." He said:

> "If we say that things are being, being is not real existence; if we say things are non-being, its phenomena has already emerged. Since its phenomenon is not non-being, it is real and not actual existence. However, the meaning of the unreal emptiness just lies in it" (The Unreal Emptiness).

This is the original meaning of the Emptiness of the Unreal. The bidirectional idealist way of thinking of Seng Zhao's "the unreal emptiness" was superior to that of other *Prajñā* schools, thus it became the critical summary of *prajñā* since Daoan and Zhidun. Because the three main schools of *prajñā* at that time corresponded to relevant schools of metaphysics in the Wei and Jin dynasties, objectively, it can be said that it is the critical summary of the metaphysics in the Wei and Jin dynasties. The *Immutability of Things* written by Seng Zhao and the viewpoint that not knowing is knowing stated in Ban-ruo-wu-zhi-lun are both respectively echoed with the motion and quietness theories and the debates between language and meaning. It can also be said that the *prajñā* theory of Seng Zhao was not only a new stage of Buddhist philosophy theory development but also a supplement, deepening, enrichment, and development of the metaphysics in the Wei and Jin dynasties. Seng Zhao was deeply influenced by the relativism thought of Zhuangzi; meanwhile, he used the Mādhyamika theory to further metaphysics to a new level. The history of ancient Chinese thought shows that after Seng Zhao, *prajñā* turned to *Nirvana* and the metaphysics went into decline as well.

3.3 Struggle between Soul Eternity Theory of Buddhism and Soul Annihilability Theory of Materialism

On the one hand, Buddhist idealist philosophy was dependent on the idealism of Chinese traditional philosophy and was quite popular. However, on the other hand, it is bound to arouse criticism from materialist schools of Chinese traditional philosophy. During the Wei and Jin dynasties, Buddhism relied on metaphysics in spreading through the country. Subsequently, during the Southern and Northern dynasties, a major conflict finally surfaced between the Buddhist theism the materialist atheism. This escalated into a tit for tat struggle between the two main theories prevalent at the time and had a profound influence on the history of Chinese philosophy. This struggle directly involved the theory of soul eternity, a basic tenet of Chinese Buddhism, karma theory, and the Buddha nature theory, which was closely related to the theory of soul eternity. At that time, the struggle of atheism against theism was just a summarization of the struggle against theism, the Karma theory, and Buddha nature theory.

The Karma theory is the basic theory of Buddhism about the nature of life, values, and fates. This theory was the most popular and greatly influenced the people, and was a pillar of thought that enabled Buddhism to become widespread. Huiyuan in the Eastern Jin dynasty wrote *On the Three Karma* and *On the Obvious Karma* to publicize that a person has three types of retributions— bodily action (身), speech (口), and intention (意). Retribution includes current retribution, retribution in the next rebirth (the deeds done in this life show

their effects in the next reincarnation), and subsequent retribution (the deeds done in the next life show their effects in later lives). A life, therefore, is a continuum of a previous life, the current life, and the subsequent life. Thus, the doctrine of karma includes three types of retributions, and three retributions and three lives on combining the idea of Retribution of Karma Samsara of Indian Buddhism and the relevant traditional superstition of China. Huiyuan also clearly combined the theory of soul eternity and that of karma to put forward the thought on imperishable soul. This is the thought that broaches the subject of karma. Huiyuan provided specific explanations for the attribution and meaning of "spirit." He said:

> What is soul? It is an extremely smart (Jingji) entity. It is smart to the extreme, and can't be revealed by trigram figure, so the sage only said soul was Miaowu (marvelous things)…Soul is Yuan Ying Wusheng (response and change have no subject). Even if one has first-class intelligence, he cannot exactly describe its image state and its response to external things. It functions with the aid of life form. It responds to things, but it is not a thing, so it is material but will not disappear. It has the aid of life form but it is not a life form, so after life disappears, it can't disappear… circulation and change of life are the result of influence and summon of feeling and soul is passed by life circulation and change. Feeling is the mother of change and soul is the root of feeling. Feeling has the role of coagulating to life and soul has the function of transferring in life circulation (Śramana Disrespecting Emperors).

"Jingji" means extremely smart. "Miaowu" means marvelous things. In "Yuan Ying Wusheng," "Wusheng" should be "Wuzhu." "Yuan Ying Wusheng" means that response and change have no subject. "Shu" refers to "concrete number," or "scale number," of items and is expressed quantitatively. This paragraph has five main points: (1) The soul is extremely smart and is a very intelligent entity. The soul has no image, but it is a thing made up of all marvelous things including those that create other things. (2) The soul is derelict and nameless. (3) The soul is non-material and non-number. (4) The soul is the root of carnal desire and the ultimate origin of life circulation. (5) Soul has the function and role of transformation and transport in time and space and it is imperishable and boundless. Huiyuan also cited the metaphor of firewood to prove soul eternity. He said, "Lighting a wood on fire is just like infusing the body with soul. Putting fire to a different wood is just like passing soul to a different body. Each piece of wood is different, and hence, we can see the subtle difference when it is lit; similarly, each body is unique, so we know that carnal desire and body are profoundly induced mutually" (ibid.) Passing soul from one body to the next body is akin to passing the fire from one piece of wood to the next. Carnal desire and the body of every life form are mutually induced and undergo several changes. The body is perishable but the soul is not. With regard to the issue of soul annihilability and imperishability, the theory of Indian Buddhism at the early stage fell into a state of logic confusion and contradiction—it opposed the soul theory but affirmed reincarnation. Later, the School of Emptiness of Mahāyāna promoted the thought that everything was empty and opposed the belief in the existence of all living creatures and all kinds of heavenly deities. The School of Having of Mahāyāna disagreed with the idea

of the School of Emptiness and emphasized that since the introduction of Buddhism into China, Chinese people treated Buddhism as theism along the lines of the karma theory of Buddhism. The statement of Huiyuan was a typical argument against soul eternity of Chinese Buddhist scholars. The statement of Huiyuan not only elicited criticism from Kumārajīva, a scholar of the School of Emptiness of Mahāyāna who derided it as a "playful theory," but also could have led to a conflict with the traditional Chinese concept of atheism and eventually caused a big debate.

Since the Wei and Jin dynasties, social hierarchy was clearly defined and strictly followed and the gulf between the rich and the poor was large. The extreme inequalities existing in society stimulated and prompted Buddhist scholars to research and explain whether the opportunities and conditions required for people to attain Buddhahood were equal, which in turn involved the exploration of the basis and reason for becoming a Buddha, that is, Buddha nature. To comply with the requirements of the times and to spread Buddhism, the study of Buddha nature became very popular and received unparalleled attention during the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties. According to historical records, there existed twelve schools of thought that studied Buddha nature. These schools of thought promoted the idea that the Buddha nature stemmed from two major aspects—consciousness and objective state—which arose from the three aspects of people, heart, and reason. Among the many theories on Buddha nature, the most noteworthy was the opinion of Zhu Daosheng. He believed that the Buddha nature was the most virtuous nature, the highest wisdom, and the final truth of all living creatures, and was the nature of the universe as well. He stressed that the Buddha nature is neither emptiness nor one of deities. All living creatures have no "me" of life and death. In Daosheng's opinion, once all living creatures received the truth, it signified the unity of all living creatures and their physical forms, and they could achieve Buddhahood. It was also noteworthy that there were many Buddhist scholars who stated that the nature of Buddha stemmed from the hearts of all living creatures. Some schools regarded consciousness as the nature of Buddha and some advocated that the imperishable consciousness, that is, the soul is the true nature of Buddha. Xiao Yan, Emperor Liangdi of Liang, also put forth the opinion that the true soul is the true nature of Buddha. He propagandized that soul comprised the two aspects of "character" and "effect"; true character, that is, the nature of the soul was akin to deities and were continuous and must return to the marvelous fruits of practicing Buddhism (bohdi). The aspect of "effect" referred to all psychological phenomena, and was also known as "consciousness," usually represented as "conscious ignorance." It was mortal and sequential. True soul was in essence, the "I" in life and death, that is, the soul or the main body of reincarnation. Emperor Wudi of Liang believed that by moving away from ignorance without wisdom and moving toward brightness, one can become Buddha and brightness was also a basis of becoming Buddha. Studying the relationship between body and soul and the Buddha nature as the basis for all the living creatures to become Buddha was based on the logical premise of soul eternity. The Buddha nature theory, in fact, comprises the concept of soul eternity. This type of Buddha nature theory is also a type of theory on soul eternity.

In addition, there were some scholars who appreciated Buddhist arguments. Most of them publicized the dualism of body and soul. For example, Luo Han (Luo Junzhang) in the Jin dynasty wrote "On Reincarnation" to promote the idea that "the relationship between the soul and body is just like that of natural marriage. Separation and reunion are just as natural as life and death" (Collection of Hongming, Volume 5). He believed that the soul and body were natural spouses and both of them could exist in parallel. Spouses had partings and reunions. The death of the body was the parting of the soul and body; however, it did not mean that the soul was broken and extinguished. According to the soul eternity theory written by Zheng Xianzhi (Zheng Daozhi) in the Song dynasty of Liu in the Southern dynasties,

> Although the body and soul innately exist together, the sources of fine soul and coarse body have distinction and difference. Soul and consciousness and soul of body govern all bodies. Body runs together with the breathed air and soul flows together with people's consciousness and soul. Although motion and quietness depend on each other, the fineness and coarseness have different sources. Wouldn't they use each other because they have different roots? (ibid.)

This is to say that the soul is refined and the body is coarse, and both differ in fineness and coarseness. The body functions together with the breathed air, and the soul flows together with people's consciousness and soul. Body and soul support and use each other; meanwhile, they have different sources and fundamentals. This is the dualism that soul and material forms are independent of each other. Based on this dualism, Zheng Xianzhi wrote that "Only when there is nothing, can it serve as a home to which things finally return. Soul has no start, so it is endless" (ibid.) Soul is nothing, so it can be a home where all things finally return. Soul has no start, therefore it is endless. In other words, the body has a beginning and an end, but the soul has neither beginning nor an end. The soul is more fundamental than the body and therefore it is imperishable. In a word, he was an exponent of soul eternity. This argument is obviously in conformity with the reincarnation theory of Buddhism.

The soul eternity theory of Buddhism is different from the theism as seen in Chinese legends. This theory not only describes in meticulous and stringent detail the difference between the soul and the body but also describes how the soul is associated with reincarnation and how Buddhahood can be achieved by monasticism; thus, this theory is supportive of the Chinese Buddhist theory. Denying soul eternity is denying the Buddhist karma theory, which is akin to denying the fundamentals of Chinese Buddhism. Therefore, the Buddhist scholars at the time always did their best to publicize soul eternity, while the materialism Buddhist thinkers who opposed Buddhism focused on publicizing soul annihilability and criticizing soul eternity. Thus, the relationship between body and soul became the highlight of the struggle of philosophy during the period of the Eastern Jin and the Southern and Northern dynasties and the center of the struggle between materialism and idealism. The intense debates on the theory of soul annihilability and imperishability in the Southern dynasties can be considered to be the most magnificent in the history of the struggle between atheism and theism in ancient China. He Chengtian, a famous astronomer in the Song dynasty of the Southern dynasties, refuted the theory of soul eternity of Buddhism.

When faced with opposition from the political and religious forces headed by Xiao Yan, Emperor Wudi of Liang dynasty, and a group by more than 60 individuals, Fan Zhen, a supporter of atheism in the Qi and Liang dynasties stood firm on his principles. He wrote the famous "On the Annihilation of the Soul," where he put forward the theory of the body being the substance and the soul being the effect in refuting the fundamentals of the theory of soul eternity. He said:

> The body is the substance of the soul; the soul is the effect of the body. That means the body refers to the substance, and the soul the effect. The body and the soul is one. ("On the Annihilation of the Soul")

The substance expresses its effect and can exist without the latter. A particular effect is expressed by the substance, and it depends on the latter for existence. "The body is the substance of the soul," that is, the body is the substance on which the soul is dependent; "The soul is the effect of the body" means that the soul is the effect that the body expresses. The soul is the effect rather than the substance; moreover, it is inferior to the substance. Fan Zhen first used the category of "substance" and "effect" to describe that the body and the soul are not two different things pieced together, coupled, or combined, as described in Chinese philosophy, but rather they are two aspects of one entity. This great original theory of body and soul enabled Fan Zhen to defeat the Buddhist theory of soul eternity. He conducted an outstanding review of and satisfactorily resolved the long-standing debate on body and soul.

Fan Zhen's theory of soul annihilability also has its historical limitations. The main issues of contention were that he did not clarify how the soul effect, which was inseparable from the body, was produced and he did not completely break away from the tendency of regarding the soul as a refined product of air. Huiyuan, on the other hand, was of the opinion that the soul was different from the body and provided reasonable arguments for distinguishing the soul from the body. Thus, Fan Zhen did not properly clarify the relationship between the body and the soul. However, after facing strong criticism from atheists, the ideological theory of Chinese Buddhism gradually turned toward issues such as the theories of ontology, temperament, epistemology, and cultivation of Buddhist philosophy. These were also the important aspects of Buddhist philosophy in the Sui and Tang dynasties.

3.4 Development of Ancient Philosophy by the Buddhist Sects in the Sui and Tang Dynasties and the Interaction between Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism

Chinese Buddhism flourished the most during the period of the Sui and Tang dynasties. Various sects of Buddhism progressed together; famous monks came forward in large numbers and Buddhist philosophy was at its zenith. Buddhist and Confucian literature

and philosophy shared a very complex relationship which was evident in the following events: (1) the absorption and extensive development of ancient philosophy by Buddhist sects; (2) the fact that Buddhism was a blend of Confucianism and Taoism; (3) the attitude of Confucian scholars of expressing objection, repulsion, and refusal to learn Buddhism.

3.4.1 The Development of Ancient Philosophy by the Buddhist Sects

The Tiantai sect, Sanlun sect, Yogācāra sect, Huayan sect, and Zen were the main Buddhist sects with rich philosophical thoughts that existed during the Sui and Tang dynasties. The sect leaders wrote books and successively established their theories to promote the idealist philosophy. They developed theories on subjects such as the structure of the universe, ontology, epistemology, truth, consciousness, and temperament, which led to the enrichment and development of the ancient philosophical ideology.

Most Buddhists in the Sui and Tang dynasties promoted the theory of temperament. This theory was the focus of Buddhist philosophy at that time and the greatest development of ancient philosophy by Buddhism. Toward the end of the Jin dynasty and the beginning of the Song dynasty, the thought circles had unified studies on the theory of ontology and temperament and had turned away from the discussing the noumenon of the universe and begun focusing on studying the noumenon of mankind, that is, the "nature" of mankind. This shift in discussions focusing on the external world to the internal world came about as a result of the demands of social development and ideological trends of metaphysics. Furthermore, it was not related to the translation and spread of Buddhist scriptures. After the big debate between the theory of soul eternity and soul annihilability in the Southern dynasties, Buddhism suffered a massive setback on the theoretical problem of body and soul. Buddhist scholars were compelled to conduct wider and more detailed studies on the subject of the mind and nature of mankind, so as to clarify the basis and possibility of becoming Buddha—the fundamental issue of Buddhism. After his return from learning scriptures in India, Tang Xuanzang founded the Yogācāra sect, which introduced the idea that everything was changed by consciousness and promoted the exploration and study on temperament. Buddhist sects and schools continued to focus on the elucidation of the theory of temperament, giving rise to theories such as "enlightening mind to reach the nature," "mind is Buddha," "knowing mind is noumenon," "nature is satisfactory and clear," and "the things without feeling also have Buddha nature." There was an explosion of diverse and oftentimes confused expositions and arguments, and there were several versions of the theory of temperament each characteristically different from the other. Eliminating evilness and following goodness, removing desire and finding true nature were the main aspects of various theories of temperament. The various theories propounded by several important sects in the Tang dynasty were all some form of the theory of temperament. For example, Zhan Ran, a well-known scholar of the Tiantai sect put forward the theory of "the things without feelings also have Buddha nature" to promote the idea that things without life

("without feeling") also possess Buddha nature. This was more profound and detailed than the theory that all living creatures can become Buddha and it greatly widened the scope to include all beings that could become Buddha. The reason why Zhan Ran put forward the proposition that things not possessing emotion also have Buddha nature was to expand the appeal and influence of the Tiantai sect and at the same time, to demonstrate that all things with or without feeling in the world are the embodiment of eminent, universal, absolute, and eternal Buddha nature. Another example is that Zen advocated the theory of "experiencing Buddha nature and the state of Buddha depends on one's own strength and monasticism." It held that the true nature and true mind of everyone was peaceful and quiet, and as long as a person knew the true nature and true mind, it was sufficient. Since the mind and true nature of everyone is peaceful and quiet, all things were true to their own nature, "therefore, all laws are in their own nature. ...All laws lie in their own nature, so it is called peaceful and quiet Buddha body" ("Platform Sutra," Dunhuang version). The Zen School believed that all things had their own nature. Seeing all things in their own nature is called the peaceful and quiet Buddha body, that is, becoming Buddha by one's self monasticism. The Zen School considered the theory of temperament as the fundamental theory and combined it with the theory of ontology. The similarity between the theory of temperament and that of ontology was a major feature and significant development for the ancient Chinese theory of temperament and had a profound influence on Neo-Confucianism in the Song and Ming dynasties.

Along with the theory of temperament, the Buddhist sects in the Sui and Tang dynasties developed several different types of theories on idealist ontology. The ideological routes of those theories of ontology are basically the same, but with certain differences; the specific content, in particular, is very different. The idealist ontology of Buddhist sects in the Sui and Tang dynasties were of two major types. The Yogācāra sect promoted the idea that subjective consciousness was the origin of all things, and it was the typical subjective idealism in the history of Chinese philosophy. The Tiantai sect, Huayan sect, and Zen all held the belief that all living creatures possessed true mind (also called, self mind or true nature), and was the origin of all the things in the world. This was the typical objective idealism prevalent in ancient Chinese philosophy. The Tiantai sect advocated the theory of "Yi Nian San Qian" (all things in the universe exist in a thought-moment); "San Qian" refers to the whole universe. "Yi Nian" also called "Yi Nian Xin" or "Yi Xin," is what is common to all living creatures. In the thought-moments of all the living creatures, tens of thousands of things present themselves. According to the Tiantai sect, all phenomena in the universe are as they are and there was no need for dependence on other things. The Huayan sect advocated the theory of "all things are produced in the realm of dharma." "The realm of dharma" generally refers to all existence. It emphasized that everything in the universe was a demonstration of "one true realm of reality." The so-called "one true realm of reality" is the "original and true mind that exists universally and is a basic substance of all phenomena. The true mind is pure, good, and equal. It follows karma to remain unchanged, and remains unchanged by following karma, thus showing oneness with the universe. Zen promoted the theory of

sudden emergence of one's true mind and emphasized that everything in the universe was the expression of one's pure mind, that is, true mind. Everything is in your mind, and the outer world cannot emerge because "the floating cloud of forgetfulness" obstructs the true mind. If "the floating cloud of forgetfulness" is taken away then various phenomena will be visible immediately. The Tiantai, Huayan, and Zen sects all consider true mind as the origin of all things; however, because they express this thought using different theories, they form different sects. It is a reflection of the diversity of objective idealism of Buddhist sects. The idealism expressed by the Buddhist sects during the Sui and Tang dynasties was different from the objective idealism of Taoist theory. The difference was that Tao was the origin of all things, and so it also enriched the ancient Chinese philosophy of objective idealism.

The Buddhist sects in the Sui and Tang dynasties also elucidated the independent and diverse epistemology of mysticism. The Tiantai sect put forward the arguments of "Three Meditations of One Mind" and "The Prefect Harmony of the Three Levels of Truth." The "Three Meditations of One Mind" is a kind of Zen theory, and is related to cognition. It refers to three types of meditations—meditation on emptiness, meditation on assumption, and meditation on the mean. In other words, for all things on earth, the mind can be simultaneously observed from the three aspects of emptiness, assumption, and the mean. Accordingly, it can also be said that the three ways of emptiness, assumption, and the mean ("mārtha-satya") are unified and non-contradictory. This is called the "Perfect Harmony of the Three Levels of Truth Empty." Meditations on these three aspects simultaneously evolved within a short duration of each other and are not mutually obstructive, which is the truth concept of "The Prefect Harmony of the Three Levels of Truth." The Yogācāra sect promoted the theory of "three natures" and believed that all phenomena had three different phase states. It stated that to know the three phase states was to know the real situation of all phenomena. The "Three Natures" are as follows. (1) The "nature of existence produced from attachment to all-pervasive discrimination" refers to the use of the celebrated concept to express all types of things, and considers all things as objective existence with differing natures and considers it as real existence. This is not real cognition. (2) "The nature of existence arising from causes and conditions" refers to all things being produced based on a variety of karmas. If people understand this point, they will receive relatively true cognition. (3) "The nature of existence being perfectly accomplished" refers to the successfully achieved solid nature of all phenomena. If people keep away from the myths of the nature of existence produced from attachment to all-pervasive discrimination and get rid of all the fabricated difference, it would lead to the most complete and truest cognition of all phenomena and successful achievement of solid nature. That is to say they would gain absolute true cognition. This sect believes that all living creatures follow the nature of existence that is produced from attachment to all-pervasive discrimination and further achieve successful solid nature. This is in an attempt to obtain Buddhist wisdom, and to get closer to becoming a Buddha. The basic theory of the Huayan sect on epistemology is the true Buddha concept. This Buddha concept is rich in content and its key message is that there should be no obstruction between principle and phenomena theory. "Li" means ontology. "Shi" means

phenomenon. The Huayan sect believes that Shi is the expression of Li, and phenomenon is the expression of ontology. Since all things are an expression of ontology, things with all types of differences will be able to remain in harmony with each other because of their rationale for different things and because their ontology and ontology nature are identical. Huayan sect promotes the true realm of Dharma concept; its true intention is to illustrate that all kinds of things and all kinds of relations in the universe are all successfully blended without any barriers. Such non-contradictory theory of epistemology views the mutual harmony between all things, but it denies the aspect of mutual opposition. The epistemology of Zen is a famous theory of suddenly realizing the truth. Zen believes that people already have superb Buddhist intelligence, but they cannot reach enlightenment because they are cloaked by a cloud of wild fanciful ideas and improper thoughts. When this cloud is removed, they will be able to see the true nature. Therefore, Zen scholars emphasize "no delusions," that is to strive for removal of all distractions and all deluded thoughts. As long as this can be achieved, one can realize self nature and realize the truth and the epiphany that one can become "Buddha." The theories of epistemology and ontology and the methods of practicing Buddhism of the above mentioned Buddhist sects are all intertwined. All these sects use various arguments to prove that one can become a Buddha. The basic nature is to illustrate a kind of mystical intuition. It should be mentioned that these epistemological systems are non-scientific and are a reflection, in other words, an inverted image, an illusion of the world, but they also contain a number of reasonable or heuristic factors and the idea of dialectics, such as emphasizing the role of ontology of recognition, relativity, integrity, uniformity, qualitative change, and leap of recognition. It should be acknowledged that Buddhist philosophy in the Sui and Tang dynasties contributed to ancient Chinese epistemology and history of dialectics.

3.4.2 Integration of Buddhism into Confucianism and Taoism

The Tiantai, Huayan, and Zen sects in the Sui and Tang dynasties absorbed Chinese traditional thoughts to different degrees and integrated them into their own ideological system in the process of creating their own philosophies. For example, Huisi, one of the pioneers of the Tiantai sect, deemed the Taoist thought of becoming immortal as a necessary step toward becoming a Buddha and included this immortal superstition into the doctrines of the Tiantai sect. Huineng Zen was formed by absorbing the nature goodness theory of Confucianism and Taoist naturalism and inheriting the theories of Buddha nature and epiphany of Zhu Daosheng. In addition, it is worth noting that Li Tongxuan, Chengguan, and Mizong, scholars of the Huayan sect (they were also Zen scholars) were also enthusiastic about reconciling Confucian thought. These scholars attached great importance to reconciliation with the *Book of Changes*, the classics of Confucian philosophy, and subsequently, they investigated, revealed, and criticized the difference and connection between Confucianism and Buddhism. Master Huiyuan in the Eastern Jin dynasty considered Buddhism as an internal principle and Confucianism

as an external principle and asserted that the harmony between the inside and outside principles brought wisdom. Zong Mi wrote Yuan-ren-lun and further put forward the view of "comprehensively studying the fundamental and incidental, taking Buddhism as the fundamental and Confucianism and Taoism as the incidental. "Now comprehensively study the fundamental and the incidental, and even Confucianism and Taoism" (Yuan-ren-lun). Zong Mi believed that the Confucianist and Taoist ideas that human beings were produced by heaven, earth, and pneuma, and nurtured by the Great Way of Emptiness was a kind of illusion and must be eliminated. Human beings all had "true mind of original consciousness." This true mind of original consciousness "often lives in peace and quietness and is plain, and has been known to exist since remote antiquity. It is also called Buddha nature, or Tathāgatagarbha" (Yuan-ren-lun). The true mind of original consciousness was the origin of human beings and the basis of becoming Buddha. As long as one eliminated confusion and delusion, one could "see the vast intelligence of Buddha on him" and become Buddha. Hence, it can be demonstrated that there is a distinction between the fundamental and the incidental of human origin among Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. Also, as long as the confusing philosophies of Confucianism and Taoism were done away with and epiphany achieved, one could become Buddha, and the fundamental and the incidental could be comprehensively studied again. The Yuan-ren-lei of Zong Mi is an important philosophical work that attempted to reconcile Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. It heralded a change from reconciling differences in ethics to accommodating divergence of outlook on the world. This also shows that the integration of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism had penetrated ideology and culture.

3.4.3 Interpretation, Accommodation, Repulsion, and Praise of Buddhism by Confucianists

The complex relationship that existed between Confucianism and Buddhist philosophy in the Sui and Tang dynasties was evident from the following: Liang Su explained Buddhism using Confucianism; Han Yu and Li Ao criticized Buddhism while absorbing the method or ideology of Buddhism, and incorporating Buddhist philosophies into Confucianism; Liu Zongyuan and Liu Yuxi emphasized the conformity of Confucianism and Buddhism and appreciated Buddhism, while criticizing the kismet theory and theism. Confucianism and Buddhism showed a basic trend of mutual blending of thoughts.

Liang Su (753–793 AD), whose second name was Jingzhi was a litterateur in the Tang dynasty. He held the rank of Hanlin officer, the highest post, and Shouyoubuque serving the crown prince. He had been a student of Zhan Ran of the Tiantian sect and was deeply influenced by the thought that all living creatures have the nature of Buddha. He wrote Zhi-guan-tong-li-yi, and exhaustively researched the "Li" and fulfilled the nature of Confucian doctrines to illustrate and explain the śamatha and vipaśyanā thought. He wrote:

> What is śamatha and vipaśyanā? It is applying the principles of all dharma (things and phenomena) in reality. What is reality? It is the nature of temperament. The reason why the things can't be recovered is that darkness and motion make it so. What lights the darkness is called brightness, and what stops motion is quietness. Brightness and quietness are the phenomena of śamatha and vipaśyanā….The sage found that puzzle was enough to lose will and motion was enough to lose uprightness, so stop and watch them, be quiet to brighten it…Confucius has said that I knew that the truth was not understood but was tied down by human desire…. If one is indulged in carnal desires and is informed, he can't understand although he studies (Volume 517, The Complete Writings of the Tang Dynasty).

Liang Su elaborated that the purpose of śamatha and vipaśyanā lied in returning to nature. Because they were tied down by external things, people had deep carnal desires for external objects and were uninformed. Therefore, they studied but could not clearly understand because they could not understand religious doctrines. Śamatha and vipaśyanā are ways by which people can remove this darkness of the mind and replace it with brightness, eliminate motion in return for quietness and explore all things and recover the original nature of all living creatures. Quan Deyu (also called Zhaizi) and Dugu Ji (also called Zhizhi) were friends of Liang Su and were followers of Confucianism who also liked Buddhism. For example, in "Tablet Inscriptions in Memory of Master Baiyan of the Tang dynasty at the Zhangjing Temple," Quan Deyu wrote, "use the honesty in The Doctrine of the Mean to understand the nature of all things, use quietness in The Big Change to feel and then get thorough understanding, then critically absorb. This is one of the highest achievements" (Volume 5, The Complete Writings of the Tang dynasty). In "An Account of Having Dinner with a Zen Master at Caoyi Temple in Xinzhou," he wrote, "The people with the highest accomplishment get quietness in motion, and recover nature in feeling (Volume 494, ibid.) Interpreting Buddhism with Confucianism was one of the ideological inclinations at that time.

Han Yu and Li Ao criticized Buddhism and insisted on Confucian ethics and debated on Huaxia nationality. Han Yu is well known in Chinese history for his intense attack against Buddhism. However, Han Yu's arguments on Confucian orthodoxy and Li Ao's arguments on reviving the human nature were formed by absorbing the legalist tradition or theory of temperament of Buddhist sects in the Sui and Tang dynasties. The Buddhist sects in the Sui and Tang dynasties were deeply influenced by the concept of family status and this was passed down through the generations. In order to counterbalance Buddhism, Han Yu used the concepts of Confucian orthodoxy to oppose legalist tradition; he said that traditionally, Confucianism was passed down through the generations by inheritance in the order of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, Zhou, and Mencius. Han Yu put forward his arguments on Confucian orthodoxy based on the model of the legalist concepts within Buddhism, which was insisted on by the Neo-Confucianists in the Song and Ming dynasties. Buddhists promoted the ideas of "eliminating desire" and "governing mind." Han Yu also particularly promoted the Confucian classics of Mencius and the Great Learning that promoted

"cultivating mind," "having fewer desires," and "correcting mind," which had a great influence on Neo-Confucianists in the Song and Ming dynasties. "Revival of the Human Nature" (Fu-xing-shu), which was the main work of Li Ao, promoted ideas such as "nature is good but feelings are evil," "nature originates from fatality and is the fundament of a sage," and "feelings are seductive and should be dispelled." If one wants to become a sage, it is necessary to eliminate feelings and revive human nature. It is necessary to dispel greed and maintain absolute inner silence. Besides exerting Confucian theory of temperament of the *Mencius* and the *Great Learning,* this theory of nature and feeling was mainly a direct inheritance of Liang Su's Zhiguan doctrine. This can be gleaned from the short quotation from Zhi-guan-tong-li-yi provided earlier; moreover, Liang Su inherited the Tiantai scholar Zhan Ran's theory of Buddha nature. In fact, Li Ao was influenced by Buddhism. He had studied Buddhist scriptures. He said that Buddhists' discussions on "mind art" was "not different from those in China" (see Zai-qing-ting-shuai-xiu-shi-guan-qian-zhuang). "Revival of the Human Nature" was very similar in style to that of the Buddhist Classics, *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith* and *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*, which were popular at that time. Let us take two cases as examples:

Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment says: "Nature relying on illusion is also called illusion. If there is nature, it still leaves illusion. As for no nature, the reason is the same."

This is a discussion on the essence of nature. *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* is of the opinion that if nature is devoid of illusion, how can nature exist? "Revival of the Human Nature" discusses it using the terms brightness and darkness. Without darkness, how can brightness exist?

The *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith* says, "For example, the sea water moves because of wind…If the wind stops, the sea water will settle, thus showing that the nature of the sea water per se is not turbulent . . . All living creatures have peaceful and quiet mind; however, because of foolish ideas, peace of mind is disturbed…if the foolish ideas are got rid of, then unwise action will also stop because the nature of the human mind is not bad.

The "Revival of the Human Nature" (middle-section) says, "The nature of water is clean, the mud and sand make it muddy . . . If it doesn't flow for a long time, the mud and sand will sink. Its clean nature is inherent and it is not adventitious. So, although it is muddy, its nature isn't lost. When it flows again, the clean nature will be lost. The nature of humans is just like water." This is a discussion on the relationship between nature and feeling. Li Ao used water and sediment to compare nature and feeling. In fact, this description has originated from the metaphor of water and wind used in Buddhist scriptures. Li Ao used the example of settling of the sediment to give rise to clean water to illustrate how after "feeling" perishes, nature will recover. This is similar to the example used in *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith* that water becomes quiet when wind stops churning it to explain that the true nature is clean and quiet without disturbances. There are many similar examples in the text.

Thus, it can be said that from *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*, Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment to Zhanran, from Zhan Ran to Liang Su and then to Li Ao, ideas and thoughts all have the same origin. Li Ao's "Revival of the Human Nature" was written about 30 years after Liang Su's Zhi-guan-tong-li-yi. Li Ao had studied under the tutelage of Liang Su. After the death of

Liang Su, Li Ao wrote Gan-zhi-ji-fu to mourn him. The Fu read as follows: "In the 9th year of Zhenyuan, I went to the Zhoufu to take the Juren exam. In September of that year, I took an article with me when I visited Liang Su…After meeting him, Liang Su appreciated my work and decided to use it…He was hopeful that Li Ao could render his name immortal…I wrote this Fu to commemorate my close friend and to express my sorrow." It appears that Li Ao was deeply influenced by Liang Su.[2] Han Yu and Li Ao's theories, especially Li Ao's theory of mind and nature that integrated Confucianism and Buddhism, and Han Yu's concepts of Confucian orthodoxy had always been insisted on by Neo-Confucianists. Li Ao's ideology of "teaching people to forget carnal desires because it can kill people" was developed into the sermon of "saving nature's principal and extinguishing human desire by the reform of Neo-Confucianists. Han Yu and Li Ao opposed Buddhism, and put forward the concepts of Confucian orthodoxy and arguments on reviving the human nature. This greatly influenced the development of thought after the Tang dynasty, and led to the formation of a new pattern of thought. Consequently, it also shows the complexity and profundity of Buddhism's influence on thought development since ancient China.

Liu Zongyuan and Liu Yuxi were also followers of another type of Confucianism. They appreciated the Buddhist concept of rising above mundane fame and fortune and a few ethics of Buddhism. They believed that Buddhism and Confucianism can coexist and complement each other. This logic essentially had an influence on Neo-Confucianists in the Song dynasty. At the same time, Liu Zongyuan and Liu Yuxi were also opposed to the idea of "Heaven" with personality, and emphasized that "heaven and people are of mutual noninterference." Liu Yuxi emphasized that "heaven and human beings win victory alternately," which was essentially a criticism and denial of theism including Buddhism. Liu Yuxi also explored cognitive and social sources of generation of religious superstition with materialistic point of view and reached an unprecedented level. All of them demonstrated that Liu Zongyuan and Liu Yuxi differed fundamentally from Buddhism on the view of the world.

3.5 Buddhist Philosophy's Influence on Neo-Confucianism[3] in the Song and Ming Dynasties and its Increasingly Confucianist Outlook

Since the Song dynasty, the influence of Buddhist sects gradually declined, while the rich Buddhist philosophical thoughts formed in the Sui and Tang dynasties were largely absorbed by Neo-Confucianists who expelled Buddhism. Thus, Buddhist philosophy became an important ideological source for the creation of new doctrines. At the same time, Buddhist

[2]One of Quan Deyu's daughters married Dugu Yu, Dugu Ji's son. Li Ao and Yu were very good friends. Besides being influenced by Liang Su's thought, Li Ao was also influenced by the thoughts of Quan Deyu and Dugu Ji, and the name explained in the Book of Changes and Doctrine of Mean had a more direct influence on Li Ao.

[3]The Neo-Confucianism here includes the doctrines of Lu and Wang.

scholars deviated from (or partially deviated from) the original purpose of Buddhism and catered to Confucian ideology, thus making Buddhist ideology move towards Confucianism. These two events were the basic features of the relationship between Buddhism and the philosophy in the period of the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties.

3.5.1 Buddhist Philosophy's Profound Impact on Neo-Confucianism in the Song and Ming Dynasties

During the period of the Song and Ming dynasties, the relationship between Neo-Confucianists and Buddhism had developed to a certain extent. The majority of Neo-Confucianists in the Song dynasty were opposed to Buddhism.[4] During the Ming dynasty, there were fewer Neo-Confucianists who were opposed to Buddhism. Although Wang Shouren expelled Buddhism, he also directly absorbed many Buddhist thoughts. Therefore, the tenets of Buddhism and Confucianism gradually became consistent. The Neo-Confucianists in the Song dynasty, from a standpoint of orthodox Confucianism, rebuked and opposed renunciation and mysticism professed by Buddhism; moreover, due to the nationalistic fervor aroused by the invasion of a foreign race, the Neo-Confucianists were subconsciously opposed to Buddhism. However, the Neo-Confucianists had faced innumerable philosophical thoughts of Buddhist sects in the Sui and Tang dynasties, and were inevitably influenced by these thoughts. Confucianism did not pay adequate attention to many Buddhist thoughts, the exploration of which was necessary. During the time of creation of Neo-Confucianism by Zhou Dunyi and others, the five sects of the Zen school were flourishing. The southeast regions including Jiangxi where Zen had been popular and ingrained in the culture for a long time were also the hometown of strong Neo-Confucianists such as Zhu Xi and Lu Jiuyuan. While studying and writing books to expound doctrines and advocate theories, great masters of Neo-Confucianism in the Song dynasty such as Lian (Zhou Dunyi), Luo (two Mr. Chengs), Guan (Zhang Zai), and Min (Zhu Xi) read and referred to the books of all schools including Lao Zi and Buddhism. Zhou Dunyi maintained close ties with Buddhist monks such as Huinan and Changzong, and called himself "guest of poor Buddhist monks." Cheng Hao "studied Buddhism and Taoism for several years," and Cheng Yi had very close ties with Zen Master Lingyuan, and praised Zen by saying "is not tempting" and worthy of emulation. As for materialist Zhang Zai, he was opposed to the Buddhist doctrines of illusion and emptiness, but he also "visited a lot of Buddhists and Taoists and studied the doctrines of Buddhism and Taoism for many years (History of the Song dynasty: Taoist Study I). Lu and Wang's sect had a closer and direct relationship with Zen. Neo-Confucianists explored and studied the doctrines of Buddhism and Zen because Buddhist philosophy had its own characteristics and strong dialectic nature, and its idealism was more refined and argument more profound. Zhu Xi also said "The reason for those who don't

[4] The only Neo-Confucianists in the Song dynasty who were not opposed to Buddhism were Yang Jian and Zhen Dexiu.

study Buddhism is that they haven't got the profound knowledge; if they go deep, they will also go into meditation" (*Zhu-zi-yu-lei,* Volume 18). It should be said that there was a fundamental difference between Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism in their outlook on the world and life. The so-called view of Neo-Confucianism in the Song and Ming dynasties was "Confucianism in the appearance and Buddhism in fact" is not very appropriate; however, we have to admit that Buddhism was one of the sources of Neo-Confucianism, and Buddhism had an extensive and profound influence on the ideology of Neo-Confucianism. This effect can be mainly seen in the following aspects:

The determination of important Confucian books and the transfer of academic purports. The five Confucian classics *(The Book of Songs, The Book of History, The Book of Changes, The Book of Rites, and The Spring and Autumn Annals)* were named during the reign of Emperor Wudi of Han, and later they became the textbooks of the autocratic ruling class. In the Song dynasty, *The Mencius* was promoted to a classic, and then combined with the *Great Learning,* the Doctrine of the Mean, two articles from the *Book of Rites* with *Analects of Confucius* and *Mencius.* Collectively, these were known as "the Four Books." Zhu Xi wrote *Annotations of the Four Chapters book.* Later, the "Four Books" became a primary standard for the autocratic governments to select civil servants based on results of examinations. The position of the *Mencius*, the *Great Learning*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean* was highly promoted as part of Confucianism and became an important classic of Confucianism. This was directly related to the struggle between Confucianism and Buddhism in the Tang and Song dynasties. Buddhism promotes the idea of the nature of mind and stresses cultivation and abstinence. However, the nature of mind is also referred to in the *Mencius* as "I have all the things, I examine my conscience that I am honest;" the cultivation method is also discussed as "mental cultivation" and "having few desires." Han Yu used these words in the *Mencius* as weapons against Buddhism. Therefore, *Mencius* was particularly praised by Han Yu, who believed it to be a true inheritance from Confucius. The *Great Learning* emphasizes that the mind should be conditioned the right way, with sincerity and illustrious virtue; this piqued Han Yu's attention. He specifically quoted such remarks in the *Great Learning* to prove that the mind governance of Confucianism is different from that in Buddhism. After Han Yu's advocacy, the book of the *Mencius* and the article on the *Great Learning* thus became the basis of the classics of Neo-Confucianism in the Song and Ming dynasties. In addition, the *Doctrine of the Mean* also states nature of mind, so it was recommended as the book that taught the method of mind of Confucian school by Neo-Confucianists. The Neo-Confucianists used *Mencius*, the *Great Learning*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean* to oppose Buddhism; in other words, they wanted to emphasize that Confucianism has its own hereditary treasure and it was not necessary to derive it from Buddhism. It thus goes to show that the "Four Books" of Confucianism were definitely influenced by Buddhism. The tremendous role played by the "Four Books" in the later autocratic society showed the significance of the indirect influence of Buddhism.

Once the "Four Books" had become important classics of Neo-Confucianism, changes took place in the study perspectives, academic purports, and theoretical focus of Neo-Confucianists. The Neo-Confucian ideas of self-cultivation, self-restraint, valuing respect, and attaining consciousness of Confucianism are somehow similar to those of Buddhism. Such theory of temperament is combined with the theory of ontology and tried to reason and illustrate in terms of the origin of life and the ontology of the universe. This theory includes the doctrines of the relationship between "principle and qi" and "principle and desire," so it is called as "Xing Li Xue" (or Li Xue [Neo-Confucianism] in short). Neo-Confucianism was widely different from the old form of Confucianism because it placed added emphasis on social-political ethics instead of nature and fatality. Such differences have something to do with the Neo-Confucian opposition to Buddhism and are also a result of Buddhist stimulation and influence.

Significant influence on the theory of mind and nature of Neo-Confucianism. The main Buddhist sects that had a direct influence on Neo-Confucianism with respect to philosophy included several sinicized sects such as Zen, Huayan sect, and Tiantai sect. Among them, Zen had the biggest influence. The focal point of Zen's ideological influence is "knowing is thought" and "consciousness is nature," that is, the concept that the original disposition and intelligence of people are good. The theory of mind and nature and that of ontology are weakly explained in the Confucian doctrines; Buddhism, on the other hand, has described these points in great detail. In their opposition to Buddhism in the Song and Ming dynasties, Neo-Confucianists not only put forth an effort to build the system of the theory of mind and nature and that of ontology, but inevitably absorbed some relevant information of Buddhism, drew on similar ideological logic, and learned relevant theoretical thoughts, lessons, and results.

The Zen ideology that "knowing is the thought" and "consciousness is the nature" had profound influence on Neo-Confucianism in the Song and Ming dynasties. Cheng Yi agreed with the doctrine that "human nature is bright": "Ask: 'Since human nature is bright, why is there deception?' Answer: 'This must be understood through investigating the principle.'" (Extant Book of Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi, Volume 18). Here, it uses "human nature is bright" instead of "human nature is good," which is obviously an influence of the Zen thought. Zhu Xi criticized the ideas on the mind and nature expounded by Buddhism. He directed his criticism to the fact that Buddhism did not separate the mind and nature, and denounced that Buddhism promoted the emptiness of nature; however, he did not realize that nature and Li (principle) in the heart were real and not empty, so he only knew about the mind and not about the Li. At the same time, Zhu Xi also said that the "human mind is very wonderful": "The mind is originally empty, and there are ten thousand Li, all the things and objects should be known (*Zhu-zi-yu-lei*, Volume 60). "When body is weak, the spirit is not foolish; its functions will not become weak" (*Zhu-zi-yu-lei*, Volume 14). He also said, "The conscience of human is inherent" (*Zhu-zi-yu-lei*, Volume 18). This view is very similar to that discussed in Zen that the

nature of the human mind is intelligent and enlightened. Zen's concept that knowing is the nature of the mind had a big influence on the mind doctrine of Lu and Wang. Lu Jiuyuan put forward the view that "mind is Li" and held that the heavenly principle, the principle of humans and objects are all in my heart, and the principle of the universe is the same as that in my mind. Moreover, the mind and the principle remain unchanged forever. That sages appeared millions of years ago and will appear in millions of years attests to this. He promoted the idea that moral concept is connatural in people's minds and immutable forever. It is also consistent with the ideological logic that the mind knows. Wang Shouren's doctrines regarded good conscience as the main theory, which considered that conscience is the role of the mind, and mind is the role of nature, and that mind and nature have the same principle. Conscience, mind, nature, and principle are all one. Consciousness is the perception of the mind. This doctrine of Wang Shouren is similar to the ideology of Zen although the manner of expressions differs. He reiterated that "The view of Buddhism is the same as Confucianism, but it can't deny its difference, which is very little" (Ming-ru-xue-an, Volume 10). He publicly admitted that the difference between Confucianism and Buddhism is insignificant. His central philosophy on conscience, that is, innate moral consciousness and intelligence, can be said to be directly influenced by the ideology of Zen.

Chinese Buddhist sects emphasize that the nature of all living creatures is pure and conscious, and the reason why all creatures become confused and cannot become Buddha is because their true nature is shrouded behind the cloud of wild fanciful ideas and obscured by various passions. When living creatures eliminate wild fanciful ideas, exclude passion, and return to their own nature, they can become Buddha. Confucianism does not profess this mind and nature cultivation theory, which was absorbed by Li Ao in the Tang dynasty to advocate the revival of the human nature. Zhang Zai, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, and Zhu Xi were enlightened by this thought, so they divided nature into two, putting forward the opposing doctrines of "nature of the heaven and the earth" ("nature of God's will) and "nature of the temperament." Cheng and Zhu also divided mind into "mind of principles of righteousness" and "mind of material desire," emphasizing the antagonism between heavenly principles and human desires. The nature of God's will and heavenly principle are interlinked with nature and the nature of Buddha, and nature of temperament and human desires are similar to wild fancy and passion. Neo-Confucianists believed that everyone "has all the heavenly principle" but "is covered by material desires." If the material desires are totally eliminated, the heavenly principles will naturally be visible. Hence, they put forward the statement of "saving the nature's Law and putting out the human desire." This is a fundamental way and ideal state of moral cultivation. Although Cheng and Zhu divided mind and nature into two, the expressions differ from Buddhist doctrines. They are consistent with the basic opinions of Buddhism's distinction between Buddhism and wild fancy, and restraining the desire and preserving the nature.

The traditional Chinese theory of human nature concerns only human nature; however, Indian Buddhism includes the nature of all living creatures including humans and animals.

Chinese Buddhist sects generally advocate that all living creatures have Buddha nature; for example, Zen emphasized that "a dog also has Buddha nature." The scholars of Tiantai sect even put forward the theory that things without feeling also have nature to promote that things such as grass, wood, tiles, and stones that have no feelings also have Buddha nature. The Buddha nature theory of Chinese Buddhism influenced the theory of temperament of Neo-Confucianists in the Song and Ming dynasties. Zhang Zai put forward the concept of "people are brothers and things are friends" to promote the thought that human beings and all things are the sons and daughters of the heaven and earth. He advocates deeming people as brothers and all things as friends. Zhu Xi said, "the father and son like tiger and wolf, bees and ants like emperor and ministers, the jackal and otter requite, and osprey phoenixes have difference, they are called 'Benevolent Beast,' and 'just Animal' (*Zhu-zi-yu-lei,* Volume 4). This theory is different from Mencius' theory that excludes animals other than people having the nature of goodness because it affirms that some animals also have the nature of goodness. Wang Shouren held the opinion that grass, wood, tiles, and stones all have conscience. The Chinese Confucian scholars in the latter period expanded the theory of human nature to include animals, plants, and even non-living objects, which is in fact an expression that approves and has absorbed the relevant doctrines of Buddhism. It can be said that since Li Ao, the big changes in the theory of mind and nature of Chinese Confucianism were inseparable from the new stimuli and new vitality brought about by Buddhism. Neo-Confucianists inherited the Buddhist theory of mind and nature, and reformed it by combining it with the Confucian three mainstays and five constant virtues and ethical code, thus creating the theory of mind and nature that have both similarities and differences with Buddhism.

Profound influence on the theory of ontology of Neo-Confucianism. Buddhism had a direct and profound influence on Cheng and Zhu's Neo-Confucianism with Li as ontology and Lu and Wang's Theory of Mind with mind as ontology. The Huayan sect of Buddhism considers Li as ontology and things as phenomenon to illustrate the relationship between ontology and phenomenon from many different angles. Zen also illustrated the relationship between Li and things and that between Li and objects, for example, in the Chan-zong-yong-jia-ji compiled by Huineng, there is an article titled Shi-he-Li-bu-er, wherein Wei Shanling says "there is no difference between Li and objects" (Wu-deng-hui-yuan, Volume 9). The original meaning of Li in Confucianism refers to principle and law, and Cheng and Zhu raised Li to the originality and ontology of the universe, which was obviously influenced by Buddhism. For example, Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi put forward the proposition that "distinction of Li and one." Li is one, and things embodied by Li are "different" and "special" and have vast differences. Zhu Xi also used the analogy of Buddhism's "the moon is reflected in tens of thousands of rivers" to explain the reason for the distinction between Li and one. He said: "according to Buddhism, 'one moon is reflected in all the waters, and all the moons in the waters come from one moon.' This is the truth that Buddhists also find" (*Zhu-zi-yu-lei,* Volume 18). The quotation of Zhu Xi comes from Yong-jia-zheng-dao-ge written by Xuanjue,

in fact, he used the metaphor of the Zen. The theory of the relationship between Li and things put forward by Zhu Xi does not differ from the theory of Li and thing. Buddhism, especially Zen, had more influence on the doctrine of ontology of Lu and Wang's theory of mind. Lu Jiuyuan did not mention that there was a difference between Li and Qi, Li and mind, human mind and Taoist mind. He believed that all of them were unified, or even the same. He put forward the proposition that the "the universe is my mind and my mind is the universe" (Lu-Jiu-yuan-ji • Za-shuo). Wang Shouren further said that "the mind is Li," "the mind will know naturally," "there is no Li out of the mind and there is no thing out of mind" (Chuan-xi-lu). This can be said to be the theory directly derived from Zen: "Ten thousand laws are all in the mind, why not observe your own mind and immediately show your own nature" (Platform Sutra, Dunhuang version). They are consistent in their ideologies and words. Zhu Xi Lu once criticized Lu Jiuyuan accusing him of "using the similarity of Buddhism to confuse the Mencius' reality" and proclaimed it as Zen. He said:

> However, the learning of Lu Zijing (Jiuyuan) is filled with Zen knowledge. His articles are only used to express his thoughts. In his articles, he originally did not use Confucian words; however, he did use Confucianism to express his thoughts. It is just like what a salt trader does, a few soft-shelled turtles must be put over the salt to hide it, so that the salt trader can pass the barriers instead of being caught (Volume 124, *Zhu-zi-yu-lei*).

Lu Jiuyuan once frankly said that he had read scriptures such as Lengyan, Yuanjue, and Weimo and he indeed was influenced by Zen and "there are many things about Zen in the mind." But Zhu Xi himself was also influenced by Buddhism, it was believed that salt traders could not hide their status, and it can also be described as "the way of Confucian scholar."

Significant influence on the way of thinking of Neo-Confucianists. The philosophy of Buddhist sects in the Sui and Tang dynasties also influenced the way of thinking of Neo-Confucianists. First, the Buddhist sects made Neo-Confucianists pay attention to the subject of noumenon and pragmatism more consciously and explore the relationship between noumenon and phenomena. The use of noumenon and pragmatism by Confucianists in the Han dynasty was not very obvious. The Neo-Confucianists in the Song dynasty inherited the concept of noumenon and pragmatism since the Wei and Jin dynasties to put forward the theme of "distinction of Li and one," which illustrated the structure and originality of all the things in the universe. The opinion that the Neo-Confucianists regarded Li as the noumenon was very different from the ideology of Confucianists in the Han dynasty, thus, it further advanced the new form of Confucian theory of "harmony between man and nature." Secondly, connected with emphasizing the category of noumenon and pragmatism, the Neo-Confucianists also attached great importance to the exploration, discussion, and debate on the relationship between mind and object and that between mind and nature. They went further to illustrate methods of observation such as observing objects with mind and observing mind with mind.

This seems as if it were direction enlightenment from Zen and Liji sect's "guest and host song"—"guests look at hosts, the hosts looks at the guests, hosts looks at hosts and guests look at guests." Lastly, Zen, which did not pay much attention to the simple methods of *Sutras*, had directly inspired Liu Jiuyuan and others to abandon the complication of commentary on the Confucian classics and advocate instead the importance of internal self understanding. In addition, the Zen as well as Neo-Confucianists have quotations on expression forms, for example, Extant Book of Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi edited by Zhu Xi mainly contains the quotations of Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi. *Zhu-zi-yu-lei* is the classified compilation of Zhu Xi's quotations. Lu Jiuyuan has 4 volumes of "Xiangshan Quotations." Wang Shouren's "Chuanxi Record" also includes quotations. This means that all the famous Neo-Confucianists have been quoted. The Zen's quotations used folk languages, and were influenced by the writing style of Zen scholars. Neo-Confucianists often used the expression "rustic words."

3.5.2 The Increasing Confucianism of Buddhist Philosophy

Although some leaders of the Buddhist sects in the Sui and Tang dynasties, such as Ruzhi, Fazang, Chengguan, and Zong Mi, blended Confucianism and Taoism into Buddhism to different extents, they usually deprecated them first, and then accommodated and incorporated them. They regarded Confucianism and Taoism as the incidental and Buddhism as the fundamental. They combined Confucianism and Taoism from the angle of the fundamental and the incidental. While some Buddhist Masters in the Song and Ming dynasties were different, they took the initiative to get close to or even prop Confucianism; some people attached more importance to Confucianism than Buddhism and thought that Buddhism was subordinate to Confucianism. This resulted in the obliteration of the boundary between Buddhism and Confucianism. The basic way of raising Confucianism of Buddhist philosophy in the Song and Ming dynasties lied in compromising Confucianism and Buddhism. Interestingly, they particularly praised the Confucian doctrine of the mean (Zhongyong Zhi Dao). For example, Zhiyuan, a famous monk in the Song dynasty even called himself "Zhongyongzi" and promoted the "Buddhist's meaning of the middle mean by Longshu" (Biology of Zhongyongzi I). Longshu's theory of Middle Mean illustrated that one should not be rigid in the two sides of existence and non-existence (emptiness), and truth and falseness, while the Confucian mean refers to getting along with people and conducting oneself. There should be neither too much nor too little and it should be moderated. These two theories are not correspondent, but Zhiyuan equated the two. Qisong, another famous monk in the Song dynasty, wrote five articles on Interpretation on the Mean where he highly praised the Confucian doctrine of the mean; at the same time, he also promoted the idea that Confucianism was related to aspects of how to govern the world and that Buddhism went beyond the world. Confucianism and Buddhism both promoted division of labor. Deqing, a famous monk in the Ming dynasty wrote, "Literal interpretation of the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean" and Zhixu wrote "Interpretation of the Four Books" to explain Confucianism using Buddhism and introducing Confucianism into Buddhism, thereby

demonstrating the greater influence of Confucianism. As a result, Buddhism increasingly lost its own personality in China.

3.6 Influence and Role of Buddhism in Chinese Modern Philosophy

Buddhism underwent a renaissance in modern times. The main force that revitalized Buddhism was the lay Buddhists rather than monks and nuns. For example, Yang Wenhui, Ouyang Jian, Tan Sitong, Wu Yanzhou, Song Shu, Zhang Taiyan, Liang Qichao, Han Qingjing, and others played a significant role in the revival of Buddhism. The Faxiangshiwei sect played a major role in the renaissance of Buddhism; this sect existed for the shortest duration in the Tang dynasty. The Faxiang Weishi sect (Dharma-character and consciousness-only) went from unpopular to popular and became a place of Buddhist studies. Some scholars debated on whether Faxiang (Dharma-character) and Weishi (consciousness-only) were two doctrines. Meanwhile, the trend of the harmonious blending of the three religions (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) and integration of schools (Tiantai, Weishi, Huayan, Jingtu, etc.) and sects progressed further. The strongholds of renaissance were in the big cities, which were mainly in Nanjing and Peking (Beijing). The renaissance of Buddhism in modern China was the result of the comprehensive function of many factors and conditions. Modern times were a period of great change—a number of progressive people and well-known scholars sought the way to survive and looked for weapons against anti-feudal ethics from the "heresy" of Neo-Confucianism. The introduction of the western style of learning and influence of Buddhism study style in other countries made some thinkers regard Buddhism as a bridge linking Chinese and western learning; a large number of lost Buddhist sectarian books were successfully returned to China from Japan and Korea. The theories propounded by the sects had rich philosophical and psychological colors, and hence, they attracted the interest of the people. Accordingly, the philosophical nature of Buddhism was highlighted, and Buddhism and Chinese modern philosophy drew closer.

Buddhism played a very important role in Chinese modern philosophy, and its influence on the development of Chinese modern philosophy was also extensive and profound. Liang Qichao said "The so-called new scholars in the late Qing dynasty all had relationships with Buddhism" ("Introduction to the Academy in the Qing dynasty"). For example, Gong Zizhen and Wei Yuan, the reformers from the landlord class; Yan Fu, Kang Youwei, Tan Sitong, Liang Qichao, and Tang Caichang, the bourgeoisie reformists; Zhang Taiyan, the bourgeoisie democrat; as well as well-known scholars such as Xiong Shili and Liang Shuming, were deeply influenced by Buddhism. Buddhism brought new excitement, vitality, and also some negative factors into the formation and development of Chinese modern philosophy and played a very complex role through the elucidation of the modern philosophers. In general, Buddhism's influence and role in Chinese modern philosophy mainly includes the following aspects:

1. Building the important foundation of the philosophical system: the creation of philosophical systems by modern Chinese philosophers is characterized by a blending of Chinese and foreign ideological knowledge such that it produces a unique mix with their own experiences. In fact, some philosophers incorporated Buddhist theories into their own philosophical system. For example, in *On the Benevolence*, Tan Sitong blended Chinese, western, ancient, and modern knowledge together and fused science and religion to publicize "benevolence is the source of the universe, so everything is mind only and Consciousness only," thus the "benevolence" system was formed. The central theory of the "Benevolence Theory" system comprises the doctrines of Buddhist sects such as Huayan, Zen, and Faxiang. He believed that Buddhism could govern western learning and Confucianism, and was better than any other doctrine. Liang Qichao studied Buddhism for a long time, and was deeply influenced by Buddhism, forming his own Buddhist views of life and the world. He praised Buddhism highly and said that Buddhism was the "highest product in culture all over the world." He highly recommended and admired the Buddhist theory of karma and that of Yogācāra and thought that the Buddhist theory of karma was the only truth in the universe and promoted that the theory of "Triple Realms exist only in mind" was the truth, "circumstance is created by mind. All objects are illusory, and only the circumstance created by the mind is real" (On Freedom: Mind Only). Buddhism provided Liang Qichao with the philosophical ideology of idealism and mysticism. Another example is that Xiong Shili praised that Buddhism "carries though the originality of all the things and develop the connotation of life" (Respond to Mr. Xue, Shi-li-yu-yao, Volume 1). He wrote "New Yogācāra Theory," combined Confucian and Buddhist ideologies, and explored the ontology of the universe. He used the two-pole concept of Yin and Yang Open and Close in Confucian "Great Commentaries on the Yi" (Yi Da Zhuan) to explain, alter, and supplement the doctrines of "seed" and "the Present" of Buddhist Yogācāra sect. Meanwhile, Xiong Shili used the analysis method of the Yogācāra sect to blend the noumenon and pragmatism theory, thus putting forward a philosophical system that considers "own mind" as the ontology of the universe, noumenon and pragmatism as the supreme category, noumenon cannot be separated from pragmatism, and that the same object has both noumenon and pragmatism. The new Yogācāra theory of Xiong Shili received criticism from ranking officials in the Buddhist circle, and extensively influenced the prevalent ideology.

2. An instrument to promote bourgeoisie society: Kang Youwei followed and used the sermon of beyond the world of Buddhism and based on the idea of "observing the hardship of the people in the world," he wrote his world-famous "Datong book." He identified 38 kinds of hardships in life and said that everyone sought pleasure and tried to avoid hardships. He called the Datong world where there is no hardship and everyone pursues pleasure as "paradise." In fact, it uses the Buddhist thought of saving the world with compassion as an instrument to advocate bourgeoisie reformism. Kang Youwei, Tan Sitong, and others equated the compassion of Buddhism, universal love of Mo Zi, and Benevolence of Confucius with the equality and humanity of the bourgeoisie class,

and used the idea of "saving the world through compassion and all creatures are equal" from Buddhism to advocate the equality and humanity of the bourgeoisie class. It should be affirmed that it was of progressive significance that Kang Youwei and Tan Sitong made use of Buddhist doctrines to publicize the political ideas of bourgeoisie class and attack the autocratic three mainstays and five constant virtues and hierarchy. However, the Buddhist doctrines overshadowed their anti-authoritarian struggle, and even fell into a very ridiculous situation. Yang Wenhui, Tan Sitong's teacher, said that the Europeans lived a life that was ten times better than that of Chinese people because they believed in Buddhism in their previous life, having done a better job than the Chinese people in expelling the evil and following the good. Objectively, this point of view obviously was to make a case for extreme Amithaba between the rich and the poor in society. Tan Sitong also advised everyone to recite the Amithaba; when it was recited for up to one hundred million years, approximately all living creatures could become Buddha. This argument cannot contribute to social progress at all, but rather lead people to a wrong path.

3. Cultivating the pillar of unselfish and fearless spirit: Mahāyāna Buddhism encourages its followers to be hardworking and aggressive, brave and fearless, to save people from hardship, and save mankind; it advocates giving alms to save people and even sacrificing their lives to save others. Zhang Taiyan, Tan Sitong, and others tried their best to spread these Buddhist doctrines so as to transform people's morality, cultivate selfless and fearless spirit, and promote social reform. They all emphasized the Buddhist thought of "valuing your mind by yourself," attaching great importance to their own efforts and not relying on others, cultivating the moral of self-esteem, independence, and self-respect; they advocated the spirit of self-sacrifice, which is "head, eyes, and brain can be donated to the people," and propagandized the spirit of being "brave and fearless" and "disregarding life and death." Zhang Taiyan, Tan Sitong, Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and others recommended and admired the spirit of sacrifice of Buddhism, which is "if I don't descend into hell, who will?" Tan Sitong used this spirit to induce a fighting spirit, and faced death without fear. He calmly walked onto the execution ground and sacrificed his life heroically with the spirit of fearlessness—"I am ready to sacrifice myself with a smile when facing the chopper." Mahāyāna Buddhism publicizes the thought that mankind must be saved, and everyone can become Buddha. Such goals and objectives, of course, are fictional, but the spirit of sacrificing oneself for others and unselfishness and fearlessness advocated by Buddhism is considered a virtue.

In summary, Buddhism and Chinese philosophy have a very complex relationship and have evolved a great deal. In general, Buddhism accepted the influence of the prevalent Chinese philosophy at first and then there surfaced theoretical struggles between them. Once the struggle subsided, the Buddhist sects absorbed Chinese traditional ideologies to conduct theoretical reform. Afterwards, Buddhist philosophy was criticized and absorbed by Neo-Confucianists and praised and utilized by modern thinkers. The philosophical ideologies formed in the long-term historical development process gradually blended, conciliated, and integrated with inherent Chinese philosophical ideologies, thus gradually becoming an integral part of Chinese traditional philosophy.

The Buddhist thoughts that attracted criticism in the Chinese thought circle were mainly the idea of beyond the world, theory of karma and that of soul eternity. This led to two large debates. One debate mainly revolved around the issue of *sramaṇa's* disrespecting the emperors. In essence, it was a debate on what attitude should be taken towards the three mainstays and five constant virtues of Confucianism, which was a debate on ethical thoughts; the other, was a debate on the theory of soul eternity and that of soul annihilability, which was a debate between materialism and idealism. Buddhism has always compromised and adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the previous debate; as to the latter one, Buddhism suffered a heavy blow in theory from atheists, however, its superstition doctrines such as reincarnation of three lives and karma are prone to be believed by the people; therefore, it did not retreat in defeat. After the intense debates, it still spread and developed further in the Sui and Tang dynasties.

The long-term spread of Buddhism in China was directly related to the fact that it could provide and supplement Chinese philosophy with new things. The Chinese traditional philosophy, especially the Confucian philosophy, pays attention to real life, and focuses on experience and knowledge, but provides little information on issues such as the origin of life, the ontology of the world and the other world. Buddhism described karma as an iron rule to dominate life, providing a mystical explanation for issues such as the origin, nature, and fate of life. Buddhism attaches great importance to the ontology of the world, and puts forward various theories of ontology, especially the theory that takes the individual consciousness and the common "genuine idea" as ontology, enriching the ontology theory of ancient idealism. Buddhism's rendering and advocacy on the other world offered new connotations and aspects of the ancient idealism. Buddhist doctrine of temperament contributed rich information to the ancient theory of temperament. In addition, Buddhism also contributed to the ancient dialectics. For example, the unity of opposites (contradiction), the relationship between phenomenon and essence, the relationship between subject and object, emphasis on subject, self-consciousness, the objective initiative and so on, all reflected high dialectical thinking, and it is worth our serious criticism and review.

CHAPTER

4

Buddhism and Chinese Literature

The translation and spread of Buddhist scriptures increased the exchange of ideas between monks, scholars, and celebrities; and the popularity of expounding Buddhist sutras in temples have all contributed to the increased infiltration of Buddhism into almost all aspects of ancient Chinese literature. The features and characteristics of various forms of Chinese literature such as poetry, prose, novels, and operas that developed since the Wei Jin dynasties differ from those of the literary forms that developed during the pre-Qin and Han dynasty. The impact, infiltration, and influence of the literary style of Buddhist scriptures are directly attributable to the development of Chinese literature. Furthermore, the concepts of value, livelihood, and life advocated by Buddhist scriptures have also influenced the existing literature.

Buddhism introduced into Chinese literature a new literary style, artistic conception, articulation, and methods of selecting topics, that is, it brought about major changes in the form and content of the existing literary style. In terms of form, Buddhism had a direct impact on the emergence of regulated verses and popular literature (including narrating and singing literature, popular novels, and operas). Buddhism also brought about two new types of changes into the content of existing forms of literature. For example, the Book of Songs describes the occurrences in human life, while the prose of Zhuangzi is rich in profound thoughts and philosophy, and concurrently, in harmony with nature. Han Fu describes in great detail the unique landscape of mountains and rivers. On the other hand, Buddhism advocates observing the amity, hardship, and emptiness of life while understanding the turning, changing, and disappearance of the universe; thus, creating a different artistic mood. Since the Tang dynasty, some literary works criticized the universe and life, and nature and occurrences in human life with an aim to promote the Buddhist ideals of praising good, hating evil, and upholding karma. Secondly, ancient Chinese literature had limited imagination, and therefore could conceptualize fewer illusions beyond the reality of time and space. They tended to focus on describing the reality; in fact, some biographies of immortals and supernatural beings also appeared too simplistic and restrained. Buddhism is different, in that it is full of imaginative ideas such

as ascending to heaven or descending to earth, and is not limited by concepts of space and time. Buddhism described eighteen layers of hell, thirty-three layers of heaven, and 3,000 boundless universes and endlessness. Thus, Buddhism infused imagination and romanticism into the existing literature in China.

4.1 Influence of Buddhist Translations on Literature

From the late Han dynasty to the Western Jin dynasty, An Shigao, Lokaksema, Dharmaraksa, and others adopted a literal translation method for Buddhist scriptures. These translated works do not "use euphuistic words to illustrate, as they are plain but not coarse" ("Eminent Monks Biographies: Biography of An Shigao"). Since the Eastern Jin dynasty, Buddhist translators gradually created a new style and mastered the art of prose through a comprehensive study of Chinese and Sanskrit translated literature, which then opened up new avenues for Chinese literature. Kumārajīva, who excelled at translating scriptures in the Yao-Qin period, was responsible for the translations of many Buddhist scriptures. Some of the translated scriptures included Wei-mo-jie-suo-shuo-jing, Miao-fa-lian-hua-jing, Mo-he-ban-ruo-bo-luo-mi-jing, and Da-zhi-du-lun, all of which were considered to have beautiful prose and fluent semantics. According to an account described in the Wei-mo-jie-shuo-jing, when Vimalakīrti, a lay follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism, was ill, Śākyamuni Buddha sent his disciples to visit him. Because Vimalakīrti was well renowned for his eloquence, the majority of the disciples, except Sariputta and Manjushri, were hesitant to go. Vimalakīrti took the opportunity to instruct and guide the disciples and promote the philosophical connotations of Mahāyāna Buddhism, simultaneously demonstrating a variety of supernatural powers and eloquence. He also explained the concepts of Buddhism using his own experiences as examples. The Wei-mo-jie-shuo-jing is a wonderful work of literature. While the Miao-fa-lian-hua-jing promotes the idea that all living creatures can achieve enlightenment as Buddha and that everyone can become Buddha, the scriptures are suffused with analogies and beautiful fables. The Da-fo-ding-ru-lai-mi-yin-xiu-zheng-le-yi-zhu-pu-sha-wan-xing-shou-leng-yan-jing[1], which was transcribed by Fang Rong (from speech), advocates the idea of achieving the doctrine of homeland of Buddha through the cultivation levels from low to high, and its description is vivid. These three scriptures have been liked by scholars in different dynasties and are often regarded as pure literary works that have had a great influence on the existing literature. Da-fang-guang-fo-hua-yan-jing translated by Buddhabhadra is a grand, magnificent, and rare compilation of work. Fo-suo-xing-zan-jing translated by Dharmaraksa describes the stories from the life of Śākyamuni Buddha. It is a biography written in verse form. Among the Buddhist scriptures, Da-fang-guang-fo-hua-yan-jing and Fo-suo-xing-zan-jing are two masterpieces with very

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[1]It was also called Shou-leng-yan-jing, or Leng-yan-jing for brevity. Some suspect that this name was made up by the people in the Tang dynasty.

strong literary flavor that had greatly influenced the development of literature. Since the Han and Wei dynasties, prose and verse forms of expression in China gradually diverged. Following this, the translators used plain and simple writing style devoid of embellishments to translate Buddhist scriptures into vernacular Chinese. This new writing style played an important role in changing the direction of the existing Chinese literature writing style, which deeply influenced the development of literature thereafter.

Indian Buddhist scriptures played an important role in the layout and structure of the translations. For example, Fo-suo-xing-zan-jing, Fo-ben-xing-jing, and Pu-yao-jing are written in long story form. However, Xu-lai-jing is written in novel style. Wei-mo-jie-suo-shuo-jing and Si-yi-fan-tian-suo-wen-jing are works in semi-novel and semi-dramatic styles. These diversities in form and genre were absent in China before the Tang dynasty. The translations of the abovementioned Buddhist scriptures played an important role in encouraging and promoting the production and growth of the later fiddle ballad (fiddle ballads in Chinese southern dialects), Pinghua (popular stories), novels, and dramas. Indian Buddhist texts employ a large number of fables set in ancient South Asian subcontinent as "metaphor body" and make far-fetched comparisons with their own doctrines as "metaphor support" to interpret and publicize Buddhist doctrines. Among the Buddhist classics, besides those stories scattered in the large classics, scriptures with the characters "Piyu" (metaphor) in their titles alone amounted to six types. Of these, Bai-yu-jing[2] is the most structured. This scripture was translated by Qiunapidi in the South Qi, and comprises two volumes. It lists nearly 100 metaphorical stories[3] to publicize the doctrines of Buddhism and persuade people to believe in Buddhism. Such Buddhist literary works that include fables and metaphors are plainly written, but are vivid and interesting. If the sermon sections are eliminated, the scriptures are in fact a means of exchanging ideas and spreading information. Mr. Lu Xun once studied the scriptures with the intent of seeking information on the ideological history and drew useful information on nutrition. He then funded the large-scale printing of this text, so as to make it widely available. From the viewpoint of the history of literature development, the translation of fables such as the Bai-yu-jing infused new life into the creation of fables in China, thus they encouraged the writing of fables in China in the later generations.

4.2 Buddhism Promoted the Advancement of Phonology, Rise of the Regulated Verse, and Development of Poetry

Buddhism had a great influence on Chinese poetry. On one hand, the Indian Declaration Theory[4] that was introduced along with Buddhism brought about the invention of four

[2]Bai-yu-jing, the complete name of which is Bai-ju-pi-yu-jing, is also called Bai-pi-jing in short.

[3]Bai-yu-jing refers to "one hundred metaphors," but, in fact, it contains only 98 metaphors.

[4]Declaration theory: one kind of learning studied by ancient Indian scholars; it is similar to commentary work on classics and lexicology in linguistics.

tones of phonology and the establishment of eight faults on poetic rhythm in the Southern dynasties, thus promoting the introduction of new genres of metrical poems since the Tang dynasty. On the other hand, the theories of Buddhism, especially those on the Emptiness of *Prajñā* and the Zen thought, strongly stimulated and infiltrated the content of poetry and enriched the artistic concepts of poems, infusing more color into poetry.

4.2.1 Four Tones, Eight Faults, and Metrical Poetry

Chinese ancient poetry also emphasized syllables. The "Shangshu ·Yushu·Sudian" says, "Poems are for expression, songs are for singing, musical sounds change with singing and pitches are for harmony." Ancient writers also gradually explored rhythms. Wei Lideng once wrote a book on rhythm titled *Sound Category* (which has been lost); however, he did not delineate any phonological rules to follow. Since the Jin and Song dynasties, a group of *śramaṇas* who were scholars proficient at pronunciation and tones in Jiankang had maintained close contacts with each other. Litterateurs Shen Yue and Wang Rong in the period of Liang and Qi were intimately acquainted with the *śramaṇa* Xuanjin. They divided the tones of syllables used in chanting scriptures into level tone, raising tone, falling tone, and entering tone, which were used in metrical poems. Shen Yue and others published a theory on phonology and meter that included the previous research results of phonology in China as well as nuances learned from the translated Buddhist scriptures and works in Sanskrit. Mr. Chen Yinke, a famous historian, conducted a special analysis and exposition on this issue. He said,

> According to the theory of declaration of Indian Veda, the so-called Svara is very similar to the four tones in China. It refers to the pitch of the sound, called pitch accent in English. The theory of declaration of Veda is classified into three categories according to the pitch of sounds as follows: a. Udāttd; b. Svarita; c. Anudātta. The introduction of Buddhism into China was accompanied by the three pitches when the followers of Buddhism recited the translated scriptures. Whether the three pitches reciting scriptures at that time fit in with the level tone, raising tone, and falling tone is hard to know in detail today; however, both of them are divided into three levels in accordance with the pitches of sounds which is undoubtedly the same. The entering tone in Chinese are all accompanied by consonants like k, p, and t at the end of words, so it can be regarded as one special type which is the easiest to distinguish from the other tones. Although leveling tone, raising tones, and falling tone differ because of their different pitches, it is not easy to determine them as numbers of pitches. Therefore, the Chinese scholars categorized them as the leveling tone, raising tone, and falling tone in accordance with the sound of reciting Buddhist scriptures. There are four tones in addition to the entering tone. This is how the theory of the four tones was created, and the sound spectrum was written by making use of the tones of reciting Buddhist scriptures to use in the Chinese texts. This is the reason why the four tones were established and why the four tones are suitable instead of other tones ("Three Questions of the Four Tones," see "Works of Chen Yinke II: An initial draft of Jinmingguan").

Shen Yue wrote "Four Tones Spectrum" (which has been lost), and put forward the theory of eight faults, emphasizing on the avoidance of eight faults on temperament for making a poem: flat head, tail up, waspish, crane knee, big rhyme, small rhyme, Pangniu, and Zhengniu. The poetry that emerged from the school of Shen Yue, known as the "Yongming Style," had short genres and attached great importance to phonology and meter. According to the Southern Qi Boo: Biography of Lujue,

> In the period of late Yongmin, the articles were very popular. Shen Yue from Wuxing, Xie Tiao from Chenjun, and Wang Rong from Langmin recommended and respected each other because they have similar ideas. Zhou from Runan was good at phonology. The articles of Shen Yue and others all used Gongshang, using level tones, raising tone, entering tones, and falling tones as the four tones. The four tones were used to make rhyme and can't be added or subtracted. This was called the "Yongming Style."

The "Yongming Style" marks a turning point from the relatively free "ancient style" to the "modern style" with regular rhyme. The theories of the four tones and eight faults created many unnecessary obstacles for poetry creation; they led to more emphasis on the form rather than the content, promoting the tendency to write in a decorative and effeminate style. However, focus on the rhyme of poetry still has positive significance. It laid greatest emphasis on the syllable of poetry, and created artificial rhythms so that people had a pattern that they could follow. More importantly, it brought about a change from ancient verse to regulated verse.

4.2.2 Prajñā and Poetry, Zen and Poetry

Since the mid-Wei dynasty, metaphysical ideologies became the keynote of poetry, leading to the emergence of so-called "Metaphysical Poetry." Metaphysical poetry once disappeared and re-emerged in the Eastern Jin dynasty. At the same time, Buddhist *Prajñā* became widespread. The doctrine of the Emptiness sect of Mahāyāna, which stated that everything was empty, greatly influenced the creation of poetry. Some Buddhist scholars created new styles of metaphysical poetry that gave rise to contented, quiet, and comfortable poetic expressions. In this way, Buddhism infiltrated Chinese poetry styles. Such poems integrated metaphysics, combined landscapes, and objectively explained the doctrines of Buddhism, and led to the emergence of new features of topic determination and conception of Buddhist poetry. Zhi Daolin (Zhidun), a well-known Buddhist *Prajñā* scholar in the Eastern Jin dynasty, was also the most important and the most outstanding Buddhist poet. His works included eighteen poems that are now preserved along with all poems compiled by Ding Fubao in the Jin dynasty. Zhi Daolin mastered Zhuangzi, and offered unique and excellent opinions on Zhuangzi: Enjoyment in Untroubled Ease. His poems combined the thoughts of Laozi and Zhuangzi, and included descriptions of landscapes and nature. His work was characteristic of simplicity, grace, and elegance and was highly appreciated by scholars. At that time,

famous poets who composed metaphysical poetry such as Sun Chuo, Xu Xun, and Wang Xizhi befriended Zhi Daolin to explore metaphysical theories and were deeply influenced by his work. Xie Lingyun (Kang Le), a great poet in the period of the Jin and Song dynasties, was also a scholar who had mastered Buddhist doctrines. He was very good at depicting natural landscapes, and most of his poems described mountains, water, and scenic spots in Zhejiang and Jiangxi. He was considered the successor of Zhi Daolin, and composed works that combined landscapes and Buddhist theories; his works were considered to elicit happiness and satisfaction. In order to popularize metaphysical poetry, which was considered plain and boring, Xie Lingyun began to include description of landscapes. This led to the gradual emergence of landscape poetry and the phasing out of metaphysical poetry. If Zhi Daolin is considered a forerunner who combined the theories of Laozi and Zhuangzi and landscape to create poems, Xie Lingyun's poetry signified the turning point or "retirement of Laozi and Zhuangzi and popularity of landscape" in the field of poetry. He is considered to be the creator of the school of landscape poems in the history of literature. Other poets contributed toward explaining the doctrines of Buddhism; there was the Singing Feeling Poem of Zhi Daolin, Knack of Praying to Buddha Poem of Wang Qizhi, Lushan Donglin Miscellaneous Poem and Taoist Priests from Lushan Visited Shimen Poem of Huiyuan, Pure Land Chant of Xie Lingyun, Pure Karma Fu of Xiao Yan, Emperor Wudi of Liang, and so on. These works added to the styles and genres existing at the time.

While Zen philosophy came into prominence during the Tang dynasty, Tang poetry became the essence of the literary generation around the same time. Although religion and literature had fundamentally different purposes, they complemented and coexisted with each other and showed parallel rise and decline. Both Zen doctrines and poetry focused on metaphor and enlightenment and were an expression of inner experiences and were a form of subaudition. Because of the similarities between the religious practice of Zen and the creation of poetry, there is some extent of correspondence between them. Zen gradually evolved since the Southern dynasties. Zhu Daosheng, in the Southern dynasties advocated the theory of Buddha nature and the theory of epiphany. Tang poetry gradually formed through the transformation from "Yongming Style" and landscape poetry in the Southern dynasties. In the Tang dynasty, some famous poets discussed and meditated on the doctrines of Buddhism, and expressed Buddhist interests and doctrines through poems. Buddhist monks also responded to poems and in turn wrote poems to express the ideals and state of life, thus showing unidirectional strong infiltration and dissemination of Buddhism via poetry and opening up of new avenues for poetry creation in the Tang dynasty. The influence of Buddhism on poetry can be mainly seen in two aspects. On one hand, with the introduction of Buddhism into poetry, Buddhist meditation methods and doctrines were disseminated via poetry. On the other hand, Zen thoughts and doctrines were used to compare and discuss aspects of poetry. The use of Zen thoughts to compare poetry involved literary theories, which shall be discussed in the following sections.

Introducing Zen into poetry injected unique Zen interests into Tang poetry. For example, Wang Wei (701–761AD or 698–759AD), who also went by the name Mojie, was a devout follower of Buddhism, and observed abstinence from meat, and respected and admired Vimalakīrti, the lay Buddhist. Wang Wei was a famous poet and painter in the Tang dynasty, and was proficient in music as well. At that time, famous poets were often given alias or nicknames, for instance, Li Bai was called the Immortal of Poets, Du Fu was called the Sage of Poets, and Wang Wei was called the Buddha of Poets." Wang Wei's poems mainly described landscapes. While describing the landscape and countryside, he inadvertently promoted the doctrines and the reclusive life promoted by Buddhism. For example, in his poem "Lu Chai," he says, "There seems to be no one in the empty mountain, but yet I think I hear a voice. Sunlight, entering dense forest, shines back on the green moss" (Wang Chuan Collection). The voice of the people on distant mountains accentuates the emptiness and solitude of the mountains; the gleam of sunset at dusk reflects on the green moss in the dense forest, symbolizing the impermanence of the world. This description of the scenery in the dense forests of Luchai during the late evening hours coincide with the Zen's "returning" and "openness and quietness" doctrine. In his poem "Xinyi Wu," Wang says, "The lotus (hibiscus) flowers at the end of wood are coming into red flowers on the mountains. There is no people in the bunkhouses, the flowers come into flowers and then fade one after another" (ibid.) Here, lotus flower refers to magnolia flower. The poet says that magnolia (Xinyi) flowers are in full bloom and they fade away in the deep and serene Xinyiwu valley. The poet is in fact expressing his inner spiritual world, which is indifferent to fame or fortune and is flexible and open to obeying fate and freedom. It is also a vivid description of Zen's attitude toward life. Meng Haoran, Wei Yingwu, and Liu Zongyuan, among others were also poets who expressed themselves in the same way as Wang Wei. Their poems also highlighted folk art and elegant prose that combined doctrines of Buddhism along with descriptions of the landscape, giving a flavor of invisible existence which might be attributed to the influence of Zen and Buddhism. Another form of poetry that was popular around that time included the use of popular languages to express the doctrines and subtleties of Buddhism. This form of poetry writing was practiced by Wang Fanzhi, Hanshanzi, Shide, and others. Wang Fanzhi (about 590–660 AD), who also went by the name Fantian, was a famous monk who wrote poems during the Tang dynasty. He wrote many poems, which were widely popular and exerted a profound influence. For example, one of his poems included the verse "Fantian wears his socks inside out, everyone said that this is wrong, I would rather make your eyes uncomfortable, but my feet cannot be aggrieved." "The stuffing grass of soil steamed bread outside the town is in the city, one person eats one, don't dislike because it is not tasty" (*An Edited Collection of Wang Fanzhi's Poems*, Volume 6). He used plain, simple, popular, and everyday language to express his contempt for secular opinions and his wish of seeking *mukti*. His poems were cited by Buddhist monks for generations. Hanshanzi, also known as Hanshan, was a famous monk who wrote poems in the Tang dynasty. He composed over

300 poems. Hanshanzi once lived in the Hanshan Temple outside Gusu (Suzhou) town with his friend Monk Shide. His poems were easy to understand and full of wit. In his poem Thatched Cottage Savage Home, he says, "Thatched cottage is the home of the savage; there are sparse carriages and horses in front of the door. Deep and serene forest gathers birds, the broad brooks hide fish. Pick up fruits with children, do hoeing with my wife. What do you have in your home? There is only one bed full of books" (*A Collection of Hanshanzi's Poems*). This verse reflects the author's quiet and indifferent state of mind. In another poem, All Your Trouble Will Be Gone Once You Live on Hanshan, he says, "All your trouble will be gone once you live on Hanshan; there will be no distracting thought in your mind. Write poems on the stone wall when you are free; follow your fate like an anchorless boat" (*A Collection of Hanshanzi's Poems*). Here, he expresses a Buddhist state of letting go and accepting fate. Hanshan's poems were highly praised and admired by Bai Juyi, Wang Anshi, and others and deeply influenced their work. For example, in "Reading Buddhist Scriptures," Bai Juyi says "must know that the forms of the appearances of all things are all not the form of the appearances, if you live in vimukta, it is still not real vimukta; suddenly forget words when speaking, saying dream is the dream of double imagination. Can you seek fruit from flower in the air? How can we find fish under scorching sun? Motion and quiescence are not mutually obstructive and opposite, absolute motion or quiescence is dull" (*A Collection of Bai Jiyi*, Volume 32). This poem is full of Buddhist thoughts and the language used is popular and simple, and is closely related to the Hanshan style of writing.

Zen continued to remain popular in the Song dynasty. It was the hobby and inclination of many monks to study all works of knowledge and write poems. Some scholars believed in Buddhism and meditated on Buddhist doctrines, or were associated with famous monks. For example, Su Shi, Wang Anshi, Huang Tingjian, Lu You, and Yang Wanli liked to infuse their poems with Buddhist doctrines and even drew inspiration from Zen quotations. Because the poems in the Song dynasty were heavily influenced by Buddhism, the narrative and argument style they brought to the fore was more than that brought about by poems written in the Tang dynasty. Some poems often incited arguments. For example, the poems of Su Shi (1037–1101 AD), who called himself Dongpo Jushi, elaborated the joy of meditation. In his Reminiscing with Ziyou at Mianchi, Su Shi said, "One who lives in the world will leave some traces somewhere, what do you think they look like? They should be like a flying swan goose treading in snow or mud; the claw marks are occasionally left in the mud, when the swan goose flies in the air again, it will not care for those claw marks again! The old monk was dead and buried into a new tower, the old poem that I wrote on the damaged wall can't be seen any more. Do you still remember the previous difficulties and obstacles? The road was long, we were very tired and the donkeys were braying!" (*Su Shi's Selected Works*, P10, Qilu Press, Jinan, 1981). This poem reflects the hollow and desolate view that life is something that you have no control over, which is exactly what the Zen advocates. In his poem "Writing Poem on the Xilin Wall," he wrote, "Looking at Lushan from the front side, it looks like a high mountain, looking at it from the lateral side, it looks like a peak, from different

angles, it has different shapes. We don't know the real appearance of Lushang because we are in it."[5] By taking the example of how a mountain appears to have a different shape when viewed from different angles, the author is trying to convey that all things in the world would appear different depending on one's perspective, thereby reflecting the Zen doctrine of "thoroughly understanding implied meanings." Another example is Wang Anshi (1021–1086 AD). In his later years, Wang Anshi became a devout follower of Buddhism, and even donated his house to a temple. His poem entitled Missing Zhongshan reads, "Return from retirement from any age as a sacrifice to Buddha, Zhongshan is no longer seen in the dust! Long before the golden millet is well cooked, I begin to feel that the human life is just a dream!" (*Master Linchuan's Collected Works,* Volume 31). It expresses a negative and empty psychology that life is a dream. Another example is the poem Zhegang, which goes as follows: "Everything only happens by chance, when one is old, it is easy to get a New Year; the flowers at the Zhegang west road are like snow, looking back, they are very lovely in the spring breeze" (ibid., Volume 30). The poem reveals the time sentiment on emptiness and loneliness of life. Huang Tingjian (1045–1105 AD), who also went by the name Shanggu Daoren, was a student of Su Shi, but was equally famous; so, they were called "Su Huang." He was also an advanced student of Zen Master Huitangzuxin of Huanglong School of Zen. He also tested, verified, and explored the doctrines of Zen with Zen Masters Lingyuanweiqing and Yunyanwuxin, two disciples of Zen Master Zuxin, and established a very good friendship with them. In his poem Feng-Da-Mao-Heng-Hui-Zhi-Chang-Ju (A Long Poem in Reply to A Friend's Letter), he writes, "When Luo Hou met me, he just asked me 'Have you composed any new poems?' I replied: 'Just like a fat ox without a rope on its nose finds the spring grass or a wild duck finds a lake or marsh!'" (*A Collection of Master Shangu's Poems: External Collection*, Volume 12). The Zen master compared his heart to an ox. At first, a rope must be tied to the nostril of the ox before it is allowed to run about; after the ox has been tamed, there is no need to restrict it with a rope. In comparison, the heart can fly freely like a wild duck. This is a vivid description of the meditation and comprehension state of Huang Tingjian. It is also a visual expression of his attitude towards conducting himself in society.

4.3 Buddhism Led to the Successive Emergence of the Narrative and Singing Literature—Bianwen, Baojuan, Fiddle Ballad, and Drum-verse

In the history of Chinese ancient literature, Buddhism had a greater influence on the narrating and singing literature and novels than that on poetry. Since the Southern and Northern dynasties, Buddhism began to promote three ways of publicizing the doctrines

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[5]Su Shi's Selected Works, P10, Jinan, Qilu Press, 1981.

of Buddhism in order to attract followers and increase its influence. These three ways included reciting and reading of Buddhist scriptures, chanting Buddhist hymns, singing of Buddhist songs, and explaining Buddhist scriptures. Chanting or reciting scriptures, involved reading and reciting Buddhist scriptures for people's benefit. Buddhist hymns refer to Buddhist anthems, which arouse and inspire people. Explaining scriptures refers to illustrate the texts of Buddhism by singing and explanation. Thus, these three methods were used to spread Buddhism among the populace. Because there was reciting and reading, teaching and talking, singing, praising, and the combination of talking and singing, it paved the way for popularizing the songs ethos of Buddhist culture. Subsequently, articles of Bianwen, Baojuan, fiddle ballad, and drum-verse emerged. The narrating and singing method in these popular works of literature were all directly derived from Buddhism.

Bianwen style clearly indicates that Buddhism had an influence on Chinese popular literature. The art of creating colorful paintings depicting the story of Buddha is called "Bianxian" (realization). Later, it took the form of Buddhist stories being conveyed via songs, and the text that was sung is known as "Bianwen." In the Tang dynasty, there was a popular talking and singing art form called "Zhuanbian." "Zhuan" refers to talking and singing and "Bian" refers to the style. The performance involved demonstrating pictures and images, while the story was being narrated and sung. The pictures were called "changing images," and the master copy of the narrated and sung story was called "Bianwen." The origin of Bianwen was directly related to the popularization of the means of Buddhism in the period of the Six dynasties. The style of Buddhist scriptures includes the following three categories: (1) Changxing (Sūtra), a prose that directly illustrates philosophical connotations; (2) Geya (Yingsong), which is to restate the story told by Changxing; (3) Agada (Buddhist chant or hymn), narrative poetry that is not based on Changxing or Sūtra. In order to repeatedly clarify the Buddhist doctrines, Buddhist scriptures often combined the use of Changxing, Geya, and Buddhist chants or hymns. Geya and Buddhist chants or hymns can be sung in Sanskrit. However, after these were translated into Chinese, because of the limitations of the language, they could not be sung thereafter. It is for this reason that "Fanbai" was made to sing Buddhist chants or hymns in Chinese using an Indian tone. "According to Indian customs, singing of scriptures is called Bai. Here, in China, chanting scripture is called 'reciting and reading scripture'; singing anthem is called 'Fantai" (Biography of Master Interpreter and Chanter of Buddhist Scripture, Volume 13 of Eminent Monks Biographies). Chanting scriptures and singing anthem were two means of promoting Buddhist scriptures, and these were undertaken by those who had mastered the art of interpreting and chanting of Buddhist scriptures. In addition, "singing and enlightening" was another means of promoting Buddhist scriptures which differed from interpreting and chanting, in that it did not emphasize reciting and chanting, but rather was more focused on singing worldly affairs. In the Liang dynasty of Chen, the same scholars who had mastered the art of interpreting and chanting Buddhist scriptures also sang and enlightened the masses. After the mid-Tang dynasty, spoken language changed to some extent, and it was very

hard for people to understand the original words from the Buddhist scriptures that were recited and chanted. Therefore, the scriptures were translated into folk language in the Tang dynasty, which eventually became Bianwen. Because both Changxing and Geya styles are used in Buddhist scriptures, Bianwen naturally combines both prose and literary composition in rhyme, spoken word, and songs.[6] In order to popularize and spread Buddhism, the monks in the temples often held public discourses and singing based on the text of Bianwen, their so-called "popular promotion." A popular promotion was usually hosted by two people. First, a section of scripture was sung, and then the master explained the text in detail. The monks learned the characteristics of the spoken language and folk songs in Chinese, neutralized the composition, and adopted a way of combining rhyme and prose as well as speech and singing. Thus, the resulting composition had strong musical aspect and interesting plots. This drew the audience and helped achieve the purpose of enlightening people.

The original Chinese literature style was simple and comprised Pianwen (rhythmical prose characterized by parallelism and ornateness) and prose. However, Bianwen was different—it absorbed the overlapping manifestations of Indian prose and rhyme, advanced poetry as the predominant route of knowledge dissemination in China, and combined the use of both song and speech. The songs comprised prose and the speech comprised literary composition in rhyme, singing while talking, and included more singing than talking. Many scholars and poets imitated the singing and talking, and integrating poem and prose form of Bianwen. The newly developed literature style of Bianwen became a forerunner of the talking and singing literature in China.

The stories of Bianwen, which were either narrated or sung, originated from Buddhist scriptures and were recited to promote the philosophical thoughts of Buddhism. The important stories include Vimalakīrti Scripture Bianwen that describes Vimalakīrti, the lay Buddhist, Manjushri, and others discussing Buddhist doctrines; Da-mu-Qian-lian-Ming-jian-Jiu-mu-Bianwen describes how Mulian goes to heaven and the netherworld to save his mother; and Xiangmo Bianwen describes the contest between Sariputta and six masters. All these Bianwens encouraged the creation of novels for future generations. The content of Bianwen was continuously developed and expanded from Buddhist stories to Chinese historical legends and folk tales as well as stories on important people of the time or historical figures. For example, Wu Zixu Bianwen describes how Wu Zixu left Chu Kingdom and sought refuge in Wu Kingdom. After experiencing all kinds of hardships, Wu Zixu finally takes revenge for his father and brothers; Zhang Yichao Bianwen describes how the peasant uprising leader Zhang Yichao (Zhang Yee Chao) in Shazhou in the Tang dynasty took advantage of the Tubo civil strife to lead people from all ethnic groups in Shazhou in revolt. They drove out Tubo military officers who guarded and occupied the land of the ten states (Zhou) such as Guazhou and Yizhou; Wang Zhaojun

[6]Bianwen has three categories: only singing, no talking; only talking, no singing; talking and singing, which is the main category.

Bianwen describes how Wang Zhaojun married the king of Xiongnu Kingdom in order to establish strong relations with Xiongnu; Dong Yong Bianwen describes how Dong Yong sold himself as a slave and encountered an angel on the road; Meng Jiangnv Bianwen describes how Meng Jiangnu walks over 10,000 miles in search of her husband and cries at the Great Wall. The religious content in such Bianwen gradually declined, while folk tales, heroic stories, and historical incidents gradually increased. Bianwen is characterized by complicated narrative, vivid plots, interesting stories, and simple and lucid folk language, and an interesting combination of prose and rhyme. This new form of popular literature not only helped the spread of ancient tales and stories via popular oral language but also created a new free writing style.

Bianwen was very popular among the people; however, it was not deemed suitable for use in formal occasions. Zhao Heng, Emperor Zhenzong of the Northern Song tried to curb the popularity of Bianwen via an official decree. Hence, the practice of teaching and singing Bianwen in Buddhist temples came to a stop. However, it found new avenues to emerge. Bianwen style was succeeded by Baojuan style, which evolved to focus on singing. Under the indirect influences of Bianwen, Baojuan evolved into fiddle ballad, drum-verse, and all types of Gongdiao focusing on singing, as well as Jiangshi (Talking about History), script for novels, etc.

Baojuan was developed in the Song dynasty, and became popular in the Ming and Qing dynasties. It mainly uses the Yunwen (literary composition in rhyme) with seven-word sentences and ten-word sentences, and is mixed with prose. The stories of Baojuan usually included Buddhist stories that promoted the karma theory. The preserved Xiangshan Baojuan is said to be the work of Zen Master Puming, the Northern Song Chuan Puming Zen master's work. In addition, Yu-lan-bao-juan, Mu-lian-san-shi-bao-juan, and others were used to promote Buddhist stories. Since the Ming and Qing dynasties, Baojuan became very popular because of its use of folk tales. Works such as Liang-shan-bo-bao-juan, Tu-di-bao-juan, and Yue-ming-bao-juan, included more than 200 kinds of folk tales. Later, Baojuan was developed into a folk art. Fiddle ballad was formed in the Yuan dynasty, and became popular in the Ming and Qing dynasties. There were usually 1 to 3 performers who narrated and sang. The instruments mainly consisted of Sanxian and pipa or Yueqin. They sang and played the instruments themselves. Famous fiddle ballads include Suzhou fiddle ballad and Yangzhou fiddle ballad, among others. All the fiddle ballads are narrated and sung in local dialects. Drum-verse is sung while playing the drum or allego by the same person. Instruments like the Sanxian were often used as accompaniment. This was also popular in the Ming and Qing dynasties. As compared to fiddle ballad, which was popular in the south, drum-verse was mainly popular in the north. Some well-known compositions include Jia Fuxi's (Yingchong) Mu-pi-san-ren-gu-ci. This book describes the rise and fall of dynasties, satirizes the folly and corruption of rulers in history. The language used is popular and vivid, and brimming with folklore. Zhugongdiao originated in the Northern Song dynasty and became popular in the Song, Jin, and Yuan dynasties. It is mainly sung; however, there is some narration. The tones in which it was sung were complicated;

Indian music was no longer the main tone; popular tones of that time were used instead. The practice was to adopt short sets from many Qupai from the same Gongdiao,[7] that had the same rhymes in the beginning and at the end; and then use many short sets with different Gongdiao to link the long stories, which were usually several thousand words long mixed with narratives and singing stories. The preserved books include the residual article "Liu Zhiyuan" by an unknown author from the Jin dynasty, Dong Jieyuan's "The West Chamber," and Wang Bocheng's "Tianbao Stories." Zhugongdiao had a profound influence on the creation of the Yuan drama.

4.4 Buddhism Contributed Story Plots and Ideas for Classical Novels

Chinese novels prior to the Qin dynasty were ignored by the upper class and hence were not widespread. Han Shu Literature proclaimed such novels as "a street lane language talk, and hearsay," loved by common folk and abhorred by the upper class. Since the Six dynasties, articles pertaining to extrordinary events and personalities began to be written; later, these became accepted as legends in the Tang dynasty,[8] script novels in the Song dynasty, and chapter novels after the Yuan and Ming dynasties. Novels gradually moved toward literature and competed with poetry. Novels could be considered as belonging to the narrative literary genre, extensively focusing on the shaping of characters and profoundly reflecting social life through complete plots and specific descriptions of the scenery. Some novels in China show shades of Buddhist influence in their generic structure, story idea, art, and ideology.

As mentioned earlier, the Buddhist monks in the Tang dynasty created Bianwen, and used "popular teaching" to narrate and sing Buddhist scriptures and worldly stories, which influenced the "Shuohua" of the people in the Tang dynasty. "Shuohua" is a type of narration and singing art. "Hua" refers to stories, while "Shuohua" is the act of narrating stories. The "Shuohua" in the Tang dynasty later developed to such an extent that story telling places mushroomed. The master copy of the stories was called the script, which was divided into the two categories of "history" and "novel." The former used simple classical Chinese and was usually the length of a chapter; the latter was usually a short vernacular piece. The script discussing scripture in the Song dynasty, called Da-Tang-san-zang-qu-jing-shi-hua, is divided into three volumes and seventeen chapters; the first chapter, however, is missing. This script describes the journey and hardships faced by Xuanzang and Monkey Xingzhe (scholar in white, both intelligent and courageous, and

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[7]Gongdiao: musical terminology. In China, Gong, Shang, Jiao, Bianzhi, Zhi, Yu, and Biangong are considered as seven notes, in which one note can form one tune. All the tunes that focus on the Gong note are called "Gong" (i.e., Gongdiaoshi), and tunes that are focused on other notes are called "Diao," or by the combination of the two words that is "Gongdiao.".

[8]The modern literature circle believes that novels developed and were influenced by ancient Chinese myths and legends, street language, works of fantasy, and unusual characters as well as history, etc.

infinitely resourceful) during their quest to obtain scriptures from the west. It begins as a chapter novel. Script novels were further developed into chapter novels, which had chapters and sub-headings, story connections, and neat paragraphs. These became the main form of the long novel in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Novels such as *Romance of the Three Kingdoms, Outlaws of the Marsh, Journey to the West, (The Monkey King) NABI Kingdoms, Jin-Ping-Mei-Ci-Hua, A Dream of Red Mansions, and Scholars* are considered masterpieces of the Ming and Qing dynasties. Because chapter novels focus on narration, prose style was used. However, "Ci said" or "there is poem for it" were also used to preserve verse.

The Buddhist scriptures inspired story ideas and artistic conceptualization based on ancient Chinese supernatural stories and novels of gods and spirits. The ancient literary works in China focused on "the explicitness and fluentness of words and sentences" and was written in plain and modest style. This was not helpful for the creation and development of the novel form of literature. Buddhist classics, however, are different. These use analogies, fables, and stories to illustrate the doctrines of Buddhism and often describe the doctrines in fantastic, vivid, artistic forms to capture the attention of people. The direct spread of Buddhist classics was conducive for breaking away from Chinese traditional novel subjects such as natural science, anecdotes, and jokes, and opening up new avenues for novel creation. The popularity of Buddhism and Taoism in the Six dynasties formed a social style of talking about ghosts, spirits, and supernatural powers, resulting in the popularization of supernatural stories. Gan Bao's Sou-shen-ji, Yan Zhitui's Yuan-huiji, and Wu Jun's Xu-qi-xie-ji are some representative works of this style. Some works such as Wang Yan's Ming-xiang ji and Liu Yiqing's You-ming-lu also focused on promoting the prestige of Buddhist statues and the benefits of believing in Buddhism and eating only vegetarian food. Mr. Lu Xun said:

> There was still one thing that promoted the advanced supernatural thoughts of the people in the Six dynasties, which was the introduction of Indian ideology. This was because in the four dynasties of Jin, Song, Qi, and Liang, Buddhism was very popular. At that time, many Buddhist scriptures were translated and the discussions about ghosts, spirits, and supernatural things also appeared. Ghosts and monsters from China and India were combined into novels, making it more advanced.9

Another example is Wu Chengen's *Journey to the West* in the Ming dynasty. It evolved into a romantic novel on spirits and demons and was based on the story of Monk Xuanzang who went to the west to obtain Buddhist scriptures, relevant scripts, and poetic dramas. The novel describes the story of Monkey King as being infinitely resourceful, brave, and invincible, creating havoc in heaven and vanquishing demons and monsters. The book also describes how Master Puti teaches magic to the Monkey King at midnight, which is inspired from the legend that Hongren (Master 5) of Zen teaches Huineng (Master 6) at midnight.

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[9]Collection of Lu Xun, Volume 9, P308, Beijing, The People's Literature Publishing House, 1981.

The stories in the book such as Monkey King creating havoc in heaven, Pigsy's marriage, and Monk Sha's story in Liusha River all originate from Buddhist classics or relevant stories from the Biography of Master Xuanzang.[10] The Da-fang-guang-fo-hua-yan-jing describes 53 types of worships, which are wonderful, changeable, and colorful, and serve as a guide to the stories of 81 hardships. Xiang-mo-bian-wen describes the contest between Sariputra and the six masters, which is vivid and dramatic and illustrates all forms of fighting in the *Journey to the West*. *Journey to the West* depicts the spirit of despising the immortal world and the indomitable will and struggle against evil forces through Monkey King's creating havoc in heaven and defeating evil spirits. The novel also includes content that describes how the Monkey King who could travel 90,000 kilometers with a single somersault could not even jump out of the hand of Buddha. The Money King eventually returns to the right path and obtains the spiritual state of an immortal by practicing Buddhism; this promotes and showcases the Buddhist ideology.

Another example is *Fengshen Yanyi* (The Creation of Gods). It describes the historical story of the political chaos in the late Shang dynasty and the punitive expedition to Shang led by King Wuwang of Zhou dynasty. The book describes how King Wuwang led his 36 troops and launched the punitive expedition to conquer Xiqi, which is inspired by Da-fang-guang-fo-hua-yan-jing and Xiang-mo-bian-wen. The book is littered with descriptions of the secret contest between Buddha and immortals, in which some characters are directly inspired from Buddhist classics. For example, the prototype of Nuozha is Nazha, the third son of Vaishravana Heavenly King in the north among the four heavenly kings. He is a guardian of Buddhism. It is said in Bei-fang-pi-sha-men-tian-wang-sui-jun-hu-fa-yi-gui that at that time, prince Nazha told the Buddha, "I guard Buddhism." In Volume 2 of Wu-deng-hui-yuan of the Zen, it is said: "Prince Nazha separated his flesh and bones to return the flesh to his mother and the bones to his father, then his own body appeared. He used his superhuman power to expound Buddhist doctrines to his parents." While in *NABI Kingdoms* and *Journey to the West*, etc., "Nazha" is replaced with "Nuozha," and is portrayed quite successfully. *NABI Kingdoms* describes that Nazha killed the prince of Dragon King, and the Heavenly Emperor permitted the Dragon King to arrest Nazha's parents. In order to express that his parents had nothing to do with his act, he cut open his belly, scooped out his intestines, and separated his flesh and blood, and returned these to his parents and died. After his death, his soul was transformed by the magic of Taiyizhenren into an embodiment of lotus with the height of 1 Zhang and 6 Chi (about five meters), and helped Jiang Ziya arouse Zhou and eliminate the Shang dynasty. With his assistance, the Zhou army won many important battles. The character of Nuozha and his story was inspired from Buddhist classics.

Buddhist thoughts have greatly influenced classical novel writing style. For example, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* described the contradictions and struggles between the feudal ruler group in the late Eastern Han dynasty and the period of the Three Kingdoms.

[10]Cheng Yinke Evolvement of Xuanzang's Disciples in Journey to the West, see Cheng Yinke Collection III: Jin-ming-guan-Cong-gao-er-bian, Shanghai, Shanghai Guji Publishing House, 1980.

It is a well-known historical novel. But the inscriptions in the open-book of the novel are as follows: "on and on the great river rolls, racing east, of proud and gallant heroes its white-tops leave no trace, as right and wrong, pride and fall turn all at once unreal. Yet always the green hills stay to blaze in the west-waning day. Fishers and woodmen comb the river side, white-crowned, they're seen enough for spring and autumn tide to make good company over the wine jar, where many a famed event, provide their merriment." It expresses the idea that life is illusory. *Jin-Ping-Mei-Ci-Hua* describes the horrific story of Ximen Qing starting from his dramatic rise to power right up to his death. Ximen Qing is a philistine, businessman, and upstart who enters into collusion with officials, tramples women, and indulges in evil acts. It shows that the rogue plays the tyrant and is dissolute and shameless. The description of the rise and fall of Ximen Qing vividly shows the sad end to pursuing greedy carnal desire. However, it attributes the fate of life to being determined by previous fate and promotes the idea of karma. Another example is the novel *A Dream of Red Mansions*. It is one of the best pieces of realistic works among long novels in China that has high ideological content and outstanding artistic quality. It is also influenced by negative Buddhist ideologies. The novel starts with a dream and ends with another dream. This book describes an extremely sentimental love story, high position, and great wealth and splendor, but the end is scattered, haggard, poor, and disintegrated, with nothing remaining—neither people nor money. It promotes the nihilistic thought that life is a dream.

In addition, it was only after the Yuan Drama appeared in China that drama with Halcrow song, dance (posture), actions, and spoken words was produced. The Yuan Drama not only drew on materials from legends and stories but, sometimes, also directly introduced stories of Buddhism. Yuan Drama was divided into 12 branches, in which "god's head and ghost's face" included Buddhist themes. Some well-known works included Bag Monk written by Zheng Tingyu and Sanzang of Tan Fetches Buddhist Scriptures to the West by Wu Changling. Ming Dynasty "Avalokitesvara practices Buddhism on the Fragrance Mountain," "Mulian Saves Mother and Persuades to Do Good Things," and so on are all obvious examples showing the deep influence of Buddhism in drama.

4.5 Influence of Buddhism on Ancient Literary Theory and Criticism

Buddhism not only had a significant influence on the creation of ancient Chinese literature but also affected the ancient literary theory and criticism in China. The argumentative approaches and intuitive method advocated by Buddhism had some tacit understanding with theoretical thinking; Buddhism emphasizes that one must overcome the ties in the objective environment and pursue pure and clean spiritual ideals. This is in common with the aesthetic value of literary works and people's aesthetic understanding.

Therefore, some doctrines of Buddhism profoundly influence ancient literary theory and criticism, and its conspicuous end has the following four points.

4.5.1 From the Theory That "The Way of Language is Broken" and "Epiphany" Theory to "Fine and Ingenious Truth" Theory

As a religion, Buddhism advocates proving and apprehending belief, and believes that only mysterious intuition can prove the highest truth of Buddhism. "Pu-sa-ying-luo-ben-ye-jing: Yinguopin" says, "All that can't be expressed by language, there is no idea (i.e., thought)." Wei-mo-jie-suo-jing: Ru-bu-er-fa-men-pin-di-jiu says, "When there is no word and language to express, it is really into the only proper course to take." The highest truth of Buddhism ("Tathatā") is that there is no way to speak and express by language and words, and there is no idea that can be thought of, that is, it cannot be expressed or understood by spoken and written language, or rational and logical thinking. Chinese Buddhist scholars attach great importance to this theory. In the period of Qin of Yao, Seng Zhao specialized in "ignorance of *Prajñā*" and emphasized that "the sacred intelligence is profound, deep, and unpredictable." "It can't be obtained by knowledge." "Sacred intelligence," that is, the highest intelligence of Buddhism is invisible and has neither image nor name; it is the fundamental way to achieve liberation. Later, the doctrines of Zen further emphasized that only comparison and metaphor can be used to make a person comprehend and experience and prove "Tathatā."

What is closely linked to mysticism that cannot be expressed by language is the epiphany theory advocated in a special article (now lost) by Zhu Daosheng, Seng Zhao's fellow student. In Huida's Zhao-lun-shu, there is a concise exposition, "firstly, Master Zhu's big epiphany theory, so-called epiphany is that the Buddhist dogma is an inseparable whole, so consciousness on it cannot be realized in stages. Rational (恚) (this word is unknown, some suspect it is "悉") means epiphany." He believes that the truth and abstruse theory are one and are inseparable. There is neither an intermediate state nor different stages to prove, apprehend, and unify with the truth. Xie Lingyun and Daosheng interacted with each other, and he greatly appreciated the theory of Daosheng. He wrote Yu-zhu-dao-ren-bian-zong-lun to further elucidate Daosheng's theory of inseparable truth and promote the theory of becoming Buddha by epiphany. As stated above, Huineng Zen vigorously promoted the theory of becoming Buddha by epiphany, so this set is called "Epiphany Buddhism." Huineng believed that "becoming Buddha" is to realize the inherent nature of everyone; hence, "one may feel confused and go through accumulative hardship before one is able to suddenly understand the real meaning of becoming a Buddha" (*Platform Sutra Dunhuang version*). All living creatures progress from confusion to understanding at some point of time—feeling one thought and realizing the Buddha nature. Zen also believes that all things embody "Tathatā," and all living creatures can prove and understand "Tathatā" from all things and achieve "the spiritual state of an immortal."

Influenced by the theories of "can't be expressed by language" and "epiphany," Jiaoran, a monk who was the 10th generation offspring of Xie Lingyun, composed poetry in the Tang dynasty. He wrote Shi-shi, which described the system and methods of poetry writing. In the article, he said, "Kanglegong (Xie Lingyun) could write articles in his early years. He was clever, pure, and knew Buddhist scriptures and he was smart. So, the poems written by him were of astounding quality. Could he have received help from the Buddha? ... I have discussed the articles with some people; his articles were the expression of natural instincts, upheld function, and didn't pay much attention to the literary aspects. His articles were distinguished, admirable, and natural" (Shi-shi: Wen-zhang-zong-zhi). He was of the opinion that his forefather Xie Lingyun's poems "all reached the pinnacle" because Xie Lingyun "received the help of Buddhism," and "his articles were an expression of natural instincts" and "didn't pay much attention to the literary aspects." He emphasized that the era of regular literary writing was over and that epiphany was the only way for poets to directly access the highest realm. Liu Yuxi, who had also received appreciation from Jiaoran in his childhood, made the following remarks: "Buddhist monks often talk about getting rid of desires. Once desires are eliminated, the mind is freed up and many other things can enter into the mind. These things will need to be expressed and they are expressed in words" (Collection of Liu Yuxi's Works, Volume 7). He attached great importance to eliminating desires and imagination. Si Kongtu in the late Tang dynasty (837–908 AD) wrote Er-shi-si-shi-pin (hereafter referred to as the "Shipin"). He inherited and developed the thoughts of Liu Xie and Jiaoran, and put forward the characteristics of image of works that is "shape outside shape and scene outside scene." He also inherited and pursued "situation outside of aroma" and "purpose out of meaning" that can be understood but not expressed by language. According to him, the implied meaning, the implicitness, the invitation for imagination should be taken as the primary artistic features of poetry. Later, literary critic Yan Yu in the Southern Song dynasty, also known as Canglangbuke, wrote the article Cang-lang-shi-hua, in which he said, "On the whole, the road to Zen lies in understanding through the spirit alone, and poetry also lies in understanding through the spirit ... Only understanding is the profession and prototype" (Cang-lang-shi-hua: Shi-bian). He believes that "understanding" is the fundamental way of studying and writing poems. According to him, words, talent, learning, or remarks alone cannot be regarded as poems. He also said, "in the prosperous Tang dynasty, people are only in it for their interest. Just like hanging horn on antelope, it has no trace to find. Therefore, its subtlety lies in cleverness and nimbleness, and cannot be considered together, like sound in the air, color in the image, moon in the water, and flower in the mirror. Words may come to an end but meaning is endless" (ibid.). "Interest" could be considered as aesthetic feelings. He believes that poems are lyrical, and should provide people with endless enlightenment through the use of limited words, and enable people to pursue artistic expression using words. Poetry creation is the utilization and development of the Buddhist theory of "the way of language is broken." Yan Yu's "theory of understanding through spirit" roughly explains

the distinction between thinking in images and logical thinking, and emphasizes that poetry should comprise thinking in images and aesthetics; this is an important contribution to the literature theory. Wang Shizhen in the Qing dynasty (1634–1711 AD), also known as Yuyangshanren, composed Dai-jing-tang-ji, and further inherited the theory of Si Kongtu and Yan Yu. He put forward the theory of "romantic charm." "Romantic charm" refers to the style and characteristics of poetry. Yan Yu emphasized "a sudden flash of inspiration" and pursued "getting the meaning but forgetting words" and deemed simple, plain characteristic writing style as the highest form of poetry. The feature of "romantic charm" is implicit and profound, and is characterized by more than just language and words; this is considered one of the most important artistic principles of "Samādhi" of poets. Besides putting forward the theory of understanding through the spirit, Wang Shizhen also advocated romantic charm, which is also a contribution to ancient poetry. The limitation of this form of poetry is that it led poetry to break away from social life and pursue the tendency of illusory realm.

4.5.2. "Pratyaksha-Pramana" Theory

The tendency of the theories of understanding through spirit and romantic charm encouraged detachment from reality and led Hetuvidyā to comment that poetry is mainly the "Pratyaksha-Pramana theory of thinker Wang Fuzhi (1619–1692 AD) in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. Buddhist Hetuvidyā includes theories on ways of thinking, in which there is an exposition on Pratyaksha-Pramana and anumana. Pratyaksha-Pramana is the intuition regarding things and images. It refers to perceptual knowledge; anumana is to compare and judge the commonality of things, that is to obtain rational knowledge by using logical reasoning methods. Pratyaksha-pramana is the direct reflection of things and images, and comprises reality and vividness. Wang Fuzhi applied Pratyaksha-pramana theory to expound the theory of poetry and emphasize the reality of poetry. He said,

> "Monk knocks the door under the moon" is just wishful thinking and study. It means that it is equivalent to talking about somebody's dreams. The description may be accurate, but the words do not hold any value for the speaker. By pondering, "pushing," and "knocking" the ideas, the poet will be able to think deeply. If the scenes and feelings are natural and wonderful, there is no need to think and ponder over it. Both the image of "long river with and the round setting sun" and the scene of "asking the woodman across the river" are very natural. This is what the Buddhists call Pratyaksha-Pramana (Xi-tang-yong-ri-xu-lun·Nei-bian).

He believes that in order to compose poems, one needs to "understand what one sees" and be in agreement with the requirements of Pratyaksha-pramana. Because certain scenes and feelings are natural and wonderful, there is no need to ponder over them. For example, Wang Wei's poem such as " Long river and the round setting sun " and "Asking the woodman across the river" are very clear and do not need to be pondered upon, and can be understood simply by what one visualizes. Wang Fuzhi believes that Pratyaksha-pramana pursues

reality; if the description does not match the reality, it becomes a fallacy. Wang Fuzhi used Pratyaksha-pramana to illustrate the requirements and the characteristics of poetry creation and aesthetic activities, and provided the theoretical basis of objectivism, which is helpful to overcome the tendency that poetry creation is detached from reality.

4.5.3 "Realm" Theory

Since the Tang and Song dynasties, works in literary criticism have attached great importance to "circumstance" and "realm" theories. "Circumstance" here generally refers to objective existence, whereas realm refers to a kind of artistic realm, that is, artistic conception formed through the fusion and consistence of the described life and expressed thoughts and feelings in literary works. "Circumstance" and "realm" are concepts commonly found in the pre-Qin classics. Later, the introduced Buddhist classics provided detailed description of the concepts of "circumstance" and "realm." Buddhism usually refers to material phenomena and spirit phenomena as circumstance; in other words, circumstance is a general term that is used to refer to all phenomena. Realm usually has two meanings. One refers to respective object enumerated by the six consciousnesses, for example, eye consciousness assumes color ("circumstance") as its realm. In Volume 2 of Ju-she-lun-song-su-lun-ben, written by Tang Yuanhui, it is said, "What function relies on is the realm. For example, eyes can see color, knowledge can understand color, and calling color is realm of color because eye consciousness has the function." It emphasizes that only those objects perceived by the subject's sensory and thinking organs can be called a realm. Such realm has the characteristics of perception, intuition, and knowability. The other realm refers to attainments and achievements. For example, Wu-liang-shou-jing said, "This meaning is broad and deep, it is not my realm." So, this concept of realm in Buddhism is interlinked with and shares a commonality with literary theory and criticism, so it could be absorbed and utilized by the literary theorists. In Shi-shi written by Jiaoran (a monk in the Tang dynasty), there is an article titled "Choosing Circumstance," in which it is mentioned, "When choosing a circumstance, it must be very difficult and dangerous. Only in this way, remarkable sentences can appear." He emphasizes the importance and hardship of choosing circumstances. In his poem, "The feeling in the poem comes from circumstances," he advocated the unity of the subjective feelings and the objective environment. Many writers in the Tang dynasty used the word "circumstance" to comment on poetry. Wang Guowei (1877–1927 AD), a modern scholar, wrote Ren-jian-ci-hua, in which he revealed the "realm" theory. He said, "Words that hit the boundary are the best. There is realm; it will become an excellent style. Circumstance is not only scenery. Human emotions are one of the realms in the heart. So, those who can comprehend real scenery and real feelings are said to have realm. Otherwise, it is called no realm." He advocated the idea of having no barriers in understanding between the author and the reader and required that the depiction of romance must be beautiful and the description of the scenery must be refreshing. Wang Guowei considered human

feelings as the realm in the hearts of people, which is derived from the Buddhist point of view. But Wang's "realm" theory not only drew on the theories of the Buddhists but also absorbed the results of aesthetic thoughts of the occidentals such as Schopenhauer, etc.

4.5.4 Comparing Poetry Composition to Zen

In various sects of Chinese Buddhism, Zen has had the biggest influence on literary theory, especially on those of poetry and Ci. In the Song dynasty, comparing poetry composing to the practice of Zen was considered fashionable. The metaphor of "poem Zen" had become quite popular. Some monks who could compose poems and other scholars utilized a set of Zen theories to illustrate creation, appreciation, comment, and debate. Its influence was profound.

Using Zen to comment on poems. Theories of Zen Buddhism were used to expound the mystery of composing poems. The abovementioned theory of understanding through the spirit of Yan Yu was to use the special understanding of Zen Buddhists for meditation to illustrate the Zen way of composing poems. In addition, poems titled "Studying Poem" written by Wu Ke (Wu Sidao) and Gong Xiang (Gong ShengRen) are also typical examples that used the theories of Zen to expound on the composing of poems. The three poems entitled Studying Poems by Wu Ke are as follows:

Poem 1

Studying poems is like meditation,
For many years you sit on a bamboo couch or a futon.
Until one day you suddenly understand everything,
Naturally you can produce poems with great excellence.

Poem 2

Studying poems is like meditation,
Many a time, we are just installing a head on the head.[11]
But only when we break away from the framework of Shaoling[12]
A true poet will be born in this world.

Poem 3

Studying poems is like meditation,
Only the very few poems achieving the greatest realm can beat time.
The famous line about spring grass and pond is just one example,
That is remembered for generations.

(Introduction to *Comments and Reflections on Poem Composition*, Volume 1).

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[11]Install a head on the head refers to repeated convention.

[12]"Shaoling" refers to Dufu. In the poem Dufu, he once called himself "Shaolingyelao."

The following three poems are also entitled Studying Poems. They were composed by Gong Xiang in accordance with the rhyme of Wu Ke's Studying poems:

Poem 1

Studying poems is like meditation,
Only full understanding can make us realize Sui and Nian[13] are the same thing.
Transforming iron into gold is such an illusion,
Towering mountains and rushing streams are also natural themes for poems.

Poem 2

Studying poems is like meditation,
Well-arranged words may not put the meaning across.
To be able to convey the meaning, you may need to break the conventions,
No need to make up for the leaking sky with molten stones.

Poem 3

Studying poems is like meditation,
Many times, we rack our brains for beautiful lines.
If you ask how Shaoling[14] made it,
I would say there were no famous lines from the very start.

(Introduction to *Comments and Reflections on Poem Composition, Volume 1*).

The first poem of Wu Ke, "Studying Poem," is based on the theory that meditation requires comprehension and reveals the process of studying poetry creation. It emphasizes that writing poems needs long-term cultivation and great effort. Once a person "knows all of them by himself, that is, to achieve "real understanding," he can use any material to write detached and beautiful poems. The second poem is based on Zen's objective of the original consciousness of the mind and temperament of all the living creatures and repelling outside authority. He emphasized the real understanding realized by the poet himself and the poet's creativity, and was against simply imitating others. He advocated that poets should try to break away from the framework of poetry composition established by well-known poets represented by Du Fu (the Sage of Poets) and form their own styles. Buddhists attach great importance to the "success" of self-cultivation. Zen thinks that all things reflect Tathatā. The third poem of Wu Ke reveals and indicates "success" on this basis, and advocates that there is poetry in all things. Therefore, in Xie Lingyun's poems, sentences such as "the spring grasses grow in the pond" (Den-chi-shang-lou) reveal poetic quality

[13]In Chinese, Sui and Nian are synonyms referring to year.
[14]"Shaoling" refers to Dufu, famous poet in Tang dynasty.

and strong artistic charm; hence, they were widely read for a long time. The three "Studying Poem" of Gong Xiang share the same ideas as poems written by Wu Ke. They also require meditation to seek comprehension and stress that "touching an iron and turning it into gold" needs touching iron according to the Buddhist principle that the languages and words of the Zen cannot transmit Buddhist doctrines. We should experience the poetic quality in lofty mountains and flowing water. We need not touch iron, just break through the tone and know the "wonderful places" in Du Fu's poems. Wu Ke and Gong Xiang emphasized the role of "apprehension" in the creation of poetry. It should be admitted that there is merit in them.

Trying to understand poems like understanding the Zen. The Zen proclaims that doctrines are transmitted by a special means independent from the scriptures which is by mind, and that no words or letters are used. It advocates understanding and grasping Buddhist doctrines by relying on one's own meditation. Some scholars also advocate meditating and appreciating poems like meditating the Zen. In Fan Zhishi's (Fan Wen) Qian-Xi-Shi-Yan, it is said:

> Knowing an article should be like a Zen mediator has his own approach. Although there are many different approaches, it should have one person who passes on the comprehension. As to the articles of the ancients, it must have one place understood first, the other parts can be understood later.

He believes that there is no difference between speaking Zen and writing a poem. Understanding a poem is just like comprehending the Zen. He advocates using attitude and approach toward meditation to read and enjoy poems and not persist in the language of poetry itself. He also advocates seeking for infinite implications and endless manners besides poetic language. It should be affirmed that it is in line with the laws of poetry appreciation.

Comparing Zen to poetry. In the *Canglang Poetry: Poetry Identification*, Yan Yu uses the schools of Zen to draw analogies and measure the superiority or inferiority of poetry. According to the text, there are different schools in Zen: Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. There is a further distinction between the South Sect and the North Sect. There are also differences in terms of definitions of good and evil in their doctrines. A learner must study under the tutelage of the most superior teachers, have correct understanding of Buddhist doctrines, and comprehend the philosophical connotations. Both Hīnayāna Zen, a result of Savaka and Pratyeka, is considered not orthodox. Commenting poems is just like commenting Zen. The poetries composed during the periods of the Han, Wei, Jin, and Tang are considered the first level. The poetry after Dali[15] is similar to the Hīnayāna Zen and is considered the second level. The poetry in the late Tang dynasty is almost similar to the Savaka and Pratyeka.

[15]"Dali": Title of Emperor Daizong of Tang's reign (766–779 AD).

"Correct Buddhist eyes" refers to a correct understanding of Buddhist doctrines. Savaka and Pratyeka fruit belong to Hīnayāna; hence, it would be wrong to exclude Savaka and Pratyeka fruit from Hīnayāna. Yanyu used Zen as a metaphor, and was of the opinion that the periods of Han, Wei, Jin, and prosperous Tang dynasties, the period of Dali and the late Tang dynasty were three levels of poetry as those of Mahāyāna, Hīnayāna, and Savaka and Pratyeka fruit in the Zen. Although Yan Yu intended to emphasize the difference in poetry style between the period before the prosperous Tang dynasty and that after Dali using analogy, it also shows the limitation that compares Zen to poems.

4.6 Buddhism Provided a New Vocabulary for the Treasure House of Literary Language in China

With the translation and spread of Indian Buddhist works, many beautiful classical allusions and new expressions of artistic beauty in the Buddhist classics have been introduced in the literary works in the Six dynasties, especially after the Tang dynasty in China. In fact, the idioms that were originally from Indian Buddhist texts account for more than 90% of the foreign idioms used in China. The new words and expressions from Indian and Chinese Buddhism have enriched the treasure house of literary language in China, and some of them have been absorbed into the common vocabulary.

There are many daily expressions that are derived from Buddhist terms; the following are merely some of them: Shi-jie (world), Ru-shi (truthfully), Sh-ji (in fact), Jue-wu (understanding), Sha-na (moment), Jing-tu (pure land), Bi-an (on the other shore), Yin-yuan (karma), San-wei (Samādhi), Fang-bian (convenience), Nie-pan (nirvana), Zhong-sheng (all the living creatures), Ping-deng (equality), Xiang-dui (relative), Jue-dui (absolute), Zhi-shi (knowledge), Bei-guan (pessimism), Yi-zhen-jian-xue (penetratingly), San-tou-liu-bi (be superhuman with three heads and six arms), Bu-er-fa-men (the one and only way), Tuo-ni-dai-shui (drag through mud and water), Xin-yuan-yi-ma (restless and whimsical), Kuai-ma-jia-bian (spur on the flying horse to full speed), Ku-zhong-zuo-le (find joy amid hardship), Pu-sa-xin-chang (bodhisattva heart), Tan-hua-yi-xian (a flash in the pan), Da-qian-shi-jie (the boundless universe).

This shows that Buddhism has greatly enriched the Chinese language and contributed toward greater expression and facilitated the ideological exchanges between people, thereby playing an active role in the cultural and social life in China.

To sum up, we can see that communication and connection between Buddhism and Chinese literature are superficially a two-way street; however, it is in fact mainly a unidirectional infiltration and influence of Buddhism on Chinese literature, which is different from the relationship between Buddhism and Chinese ethics and philosophy. The relationship

between Buddhism and Chinese ethics and philosophy is the reverse, and it is especially the case with regard to the influence of Chinese ethics on Buddhism. In comparison, the influence of Buddhism on Chinese philosophy, especially on the Chinese ethics, is much less. Buddhism has infused Chinese literature with a unique perspective on life, the world, and values as well as religious temperament. It has also brought about the development of new writing styles and moods in Chinese literary works, and the later aspect has more actual effects. It can be said that the contribution of Buddhism to Chinese literature exceeds its negative role, and Buddhism has many reasonable factors worthy of recognition and critical inheritance in the history of Chinese literature.

CHAPTER

5

Buddhism and Chinese Art

The root of art in China can be traced back to ancient times. Chinese art was splendid in all aspects during the Han and Wei dynasties. Under the influence of literary novels and Buddhism, Chinese art embarked on a fresh new path. Had it not been for Buddhist art, Chinese art works from the Wei and Han dynasties and later dynasties would have been far less splendid, and some fields may never even have developed.

Art was the most effective means of propagating Buddhism. The mobilization of the artistic imagery of Buddhist thoughts and ideas, and rousing people's awe, admiration, and faith through the artistic images of Buddha and Bodhisattva went a long way in disseminating the doctrines of Buddhism. It required a great deal of artistic exaggeration to mystify and idealize images of Buddha and Bodhisattva; for example, each image of Śākyamuni required thirty-two major marks and eighty minor marks to bring out the boundless majesty, great mystery, and beauty found in the statues of Buddha. Another example of Buddhist art is found in temple pagodas. The magnificence, majesty, splendor, and harmony of the pagodas were displayed through the use of artistic landscapes, which formed an integral part of the artistic environment around the central building. Furthermore, Buddhist chants and calm, meditative music that was played during worship allowed the audience to lose themselves in the mystique of the moment, thereby influencing "the innermost being." The famous mountains, scenic spots, caves, grottos, forests, magnificent temple buildings featuring various statues fantastic colorful paintings, and pleasant music have all contributed to the formation of Buddhist art as an important aesthetic art form and center of worship since the Han and Wei dynasties. Buddhist art can be considered a gleaming pearl that stands out among other art forms in the treasure house of oriental religious art.

As written in "the Record of Elderly Shi" in the "Book of the Wei Dynasty," Buddhist paintings, statues, and architecture were introduced into China along with Buddhist scriptures. During the reign of the Ming Emperor in the Han dynasty, statues brought from India were placed in the White Horse Temple of Luoyang, the earliest Chinese temple. The paintings on its walls depicted thousands of chariots and horses circling the pagoda three times, signaling the start of three major art forms in China—Buddha statues, temples, and frescoes. Buddhist art has gradually grown since then. According to records, Ze Rong from Danyang built a great pagoda in Guangling, Xu Prefecture, "with a golden plate as the roof,

multistoried buildings making up the lower parts, surrounded by halls and pavilions." "It can accommodate about 3,000 people. Gilded and brocade-clothed statues were erected inside the pagoda. At the Bathing Buddha Holy Ceremony, the temple offered drinks, food, and seating along the road and thousands of people would gather to enjoy the food and witness the great event." As recorded in Volume 73 of "the Biography of Tao Qian" in "the Book of Late Han Dynasty," Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern dynasties were the epoch for a "melting" of "Chinese culture." The cultures of Chinese, Indian, Han, and other nationalities "melted together" and influenced each other. This gave the opportunity to promote the development of Chinese arts. Buddhist art played a very important role in this process. The northern Buddhists valued "cultivation." Hence, it was quite popular to build temples and pagodas and make statues and steles. The southern Buddhists valued "doctrines." Hence, poetry, painting, calligraphy, and temple buildings flourished in the south, in contrast with grotto art in the north. Generally speaking, Buddhist art in Northern and Southern dynasties inherited the traditional arts of the Han dynasty, and featured simple shapes, bold lines, and unconstrained colors on the one hand, while on the other hand, they absorbed and reflected the splendor of Indian Buddhist art. This melting led to the creation of amazing art works. However, Buddhist art was still rigid and unnatural because it combined alien religious themes, existing patterns, and national artistic traditions. The image, theme, and style of Buddhist art changed markedly during the North Zhou dynasty and gradually transformed into the splendid art found in the Tang dynasty.

The Tang dynasty was the golden age of ancient art in China, and reached its peak of perfection in Buddhist buildings, statues, and painting art forms. During the Tang dynasty, Buddhist art combined the abstract religious world with the physical world. It seamlessly blended the essence of foreign, unfamiliar arts into national traditional art and formed a unique style. Hence, a new type of Buddhist art evolved. Buddha statues at that time were magnificent, genteel, and sincere and depicted "human feelings." On the whole, Chinese Buddhist art encompassed many art forms and was more magnificent than Indian Buddhist art and demonstrated the nobleness and splendor of the flourishing Tang dynasty. It differed from the Buddhist art that was first introduced in the early years. Buddhist sculptures, paintings, and other art forms declined after the Tang dynasty, and Buddhist art did not deviate from the prevalent style in the Tang dynasty. However, the typical appearance, postures, and pedestals of Buddha statues and styles of pagodas found in Tibetan Buddhism were introduced into mainland China during the Yuan dynasty. Through this, new patterns and styles were introduced into Chinese Buddhist art, further enriching it.

5.1 Buddhist Architecture—Buddhist Halls, Pagodas, and Scripture Pillars

Buddhist architectural art is largely displayed in temple buildings. Temple architectures in China consisted mainly of pagodas in the early period, but changed into Buddhist

halls during the Sui and Tang dynasties. Hence, Buddhist architectures can be roughly divided into two major types—halls and pagodas—in addition to scripture pillars.

5.1.1 Halls

The wooden temple hall structures constructed in the Tang dynasty had overhanging column caps and bucket arches in the roof design. The bucket arch was constructed by crisscrossing layers of arched wooden blocks and bowed-elbow wood. They would overhang outwardly and were layered repeatedly to form a bracket (large at the top and smaller at the bottom). The bucket arch allowed the eaves to overhang further, and also created a more pronounced decorative effect. The roof is decorated with wavy, tail feather-like strips. The column's base is decorated with exquisite lotus petals. The ceiling has square, round, or polygonal sunken panels, decorated with flower patterns, engravings, and colored paintings. Steps leading to the halls were equipped with cloisters, stone handrails, columns, and exquisite engraved decorations on both sides. The entire hall was an integral piece of art. Although temple architecture changed after the Song dynasty, they retained the architectural style of the Tang dynasty. Except for grottos, Chinese temples are mostly wooden structures. The combination of wooden structures and inherent traditional art gave rise to a new style which brought Chinese historical architecture into prominence.

5.1.2 Pagodas

The pagoda is a unique art form that combines both architecture and sculpture. Pagodas are extensively distributed across China, and this art form is highly rated among the ancient architectural forms worldwide. The extensive distribution of numerous pagodas in China, the grand scale, high ceilings, and beautiful forms all add to the rarity of this art form. To the poetic eye, pagodas dotting the landscape of green mountains under the blue sky with white clouds resemble splendid gems and gorgeous flowers brightening up and adding glamour to the surrounding environment. When seen from a distance, the pagodas appear to touch the sky, and the spires and their elongated shadows form a spectacular feature of the skyline. Of the different temple architectures, pagodas often leave a deep impression because of their artistic splendor in invoking people's memories, and inspiring their passion for the homeland.

Pagodas have exquisite shapes that are decorated with gold, silver, agate, and Sarira; hence, they are commonly referred to as "Treasure Pagoda" by locals. Pagodas originated in India and are referred to as tombs (Stupa in Sanskrit), phonetically translated to Cui Du Po, Fo Tu, or Fu Tu, meaning round and square tomb, mausoleum, etc. "Cui" in Cui Du Po was later omitted, and the term "Du Po" was used; alternatively, they are also called "Ta Po." Eventually, the word "Po" was dropped, leaving behind "Ta," which has become the common name for pagodas today. In China, pagodas are considered as ancestral temples, stemming from the fact that they were once called "Pagoda Temples."

"Cui Du Po" were originally tombs in ancient India. After Śākyamuni's demise, Buddhist disciples turned to worshipping under the pagoda where Buddha's bones were buried. Eventually, the pagoda became the main object worshipped by monks. A pagoda comprises of five parts: the foundation (base), an overturned bowl (the hemisphere above the foundation), a flat head (also called a casket seal, altar, or square box), a pole, and an umbrella (the pole and umbrella express admiration). The monks resided near the back walls found in the grottos' central halls. They were embellished with pagodas so that the monks could worship Buddha anytime they wished. Such grottos are called as "Caitya," meaning temple or pagoda temple. Such pagodas found in grottos could be called "Caitya pagodas." Pagodas buried with Sarira are known as "dagobas," also called "Sarira pagodas." Caitya and Sarira pagodas are two types of Indian pagodas. Along with the emergence of Indian Esoteric Buddhism, pagodas with the Vajra throne appeared. The Vajra throne pagodas comprised of five pagodas—the largest in the middle and four smaller ones in the four corners. Sacrifices were offered to the Five Dhyani Buddhas.

The designs of Indian pagodas were also introduced into China during the early years of Buddhism in China. Worshiping of immortals was popular during the Qin and Han dynasties. People believed that immortals lived in an illusory heaven. Because of the saying, "Immortals love to live in high buildings," the First Emperor of the Qin dynasty, and Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty both ordered the construction of high-rise buildings, stands, and pavilions to welcome immortals who would descend to earth. Under the strong influence of such worshiping of "immortals," pagoda art was rapidly combined with the traditional Chinese architecture in order to form a new type of pavilion pagodas. For example, one pagoda built in Xuzhou, during the mid-East Han dynasty had "multistoried pavilions in the lower part" and "nine folds of dangling copper trays" at the top (the Biography of Liu Yao, the Book of Wu, the History of the Three Kingdoms). The so-called multistoried buildings refer to a multistoried building of wooden structure. The "copper tray" is also called a "golden tray," that is, the canopy, or "transmigration wheel," or "pole." Simply put, it is the decoration at the top of the pagoda. The iron ring has multiple layers of circular rings. Each layer has two rings (inner and outer). The small ring in the middle is at the top of the central column of the pagoda. The lower part of this multistoried pavilion pagoda is the inherent multistoried pavilion found in China, and the upper part is that found in the Indian pagodas, which also was the basic style of wooden pagodas in the Northern and Southern dynasties. Because of the difference between the Chinese multistoried pavilions (square plane) and Indian pagodas (round plane) and the difficulty in creating round planes from Chinese wooden structures, the architectural masters in the Tang dynasty adopted the octagonal plane, which served as a compromise between the square and round planes. This became accepted as the most common type of plane. Correspondingly, the wooden structure was changed to a brick structure. In Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties, pagodas were even developed into a variety of different shapes such as dodecagonal, round, crisscross, inner-round/outer-square, and outer-square/inner-round. Furthermore, the range of materials used in their construction was expanded to include stone, earth, copper, iron, and colored glaze and were even more colorful.

After they were introduced into China, Indian Caitya Pagodas gradually developed into grotto temples. Original pagodas found in grottos evolved to incorporate pylons or one central column. The Vajra throne pagoda of Indian Esoteric Buddhism was also introduced into China, and many of them were built after the Ming dynasty.

Chinese pagodas typically have square or octagonal planes and an odd number of floors. An odd number is considered positive and implies "good luck" in Chinese culture. Pagodas can be classified into wooden, brick, and stone depending on the construction material used; single-story, multistoried, pavilion style, with thick-eaves, bottle shaped, lama style, and the Vajra throne style depending on the shape of the pagoda. We will now introduce each type of pagoda.

Wooden, brick, and stone pagodas. Wooden pagodas retain the original pattern of multistoried buildings in China, but they contain a larger number of stories. For example, Yongning Temple Pagoda, built in the Yuan and Wei dynasties, is the largest wooden pagoda measuring 333 m in height and can be seen from a distance of 50 km. It was burned down soon after its completion. Pagodas built before the Sui dynasty were almost always constructed with wood. It is estimated that there were about 1,000 wooden pagodas; however, wooden pagodas could not endure the ravages of time. With the improvement in masonry techniques, the construction methods used for building pagodas also improved during the Tang dynasty. Most of the pagodas were then built with bricks. Ferrous glazed bricks were also used in the Song dynasty (the iron pagodas). The pagoda built in the 4th year of Qingli's reign during the North Song dynasty (1044 AD) in Youguo Temple, Kaifeng, Henan, was built completely with special (ferrous glazed) bricks. It made the pagoda far more splendid. The Shishuang Pagoda of Lingyin Temple in Hangzhou built in the later years of Zhou during the Five dynasties (960 AD) has nine stories although it is only 10 m high. Master masons substituted the wood used in these structures for stones to strengthen the structure of the pagodas and further added to its splendor.

Single-story pagoda. The body of the single-story pagoda has single-layered square eaves, and a square cone or hemispherical dome at the top. It is mostly adopted by senior monks as a tomb pagoda. The "Four Gate Pagoda" in Shentong Temple, Licheng County, Shandong Province, from Sui dynasty is an excellent representative of single-storied pagoda and has survived to this day. The main body of the "Four Gate Pagoda" was built using large bluestones. Each side had an opening with a simple round and thick archway. It is the oldest stone pagoda and second oldest pagoda that still stands today. Also, the tomb pagoda of the Jingzang monks in Huishan Temple, Songshan, Henan, is a single-storied and octagonal brick pagoda, built in the 4th year of the Tianbao Reign, during the Tang dynasty (745 AD). It is the oldest octagonal pagoda in China. These single-storied pagodas reflect the style of Chinese architecture.

Among the different types of pagodas, the pavilion pagoda best represents Chinese pagodas. Early pavilion pagodas were wooden structures. Pagodas consisting of brick and stone structures appeared later. This type of pagoda has staircases inside the structure, equivalent to or even more than the number of outside floors. The pagoda has many

wooden structures, such as windows, doors, and columns on each floor, and rafters and protrusions on the eaves. Greater Wild Goose Pagoda in Xi'an is a remarkable example of pavilion pagodas. Monk Xuanzang built the pagoda during the Tang dynasty. It has simple, unadorned elegance. The surface of each floor of the pagoda took the appearance of a wooden structure but was actually constructed with bricks and stones. Their finished work is a demonstration of their superb skills and ingenuity.

The thick-eaved pagoda was thus named because the top portion of the pagodas had layers of thick eaves. Thick-eaved and pavilion-type pagodas are the most common types of pagoda. Generally, this type of pagoda is not decorated with columns, beams, or bucket arches, rather it displays elegant contours. Since the top eaves are overlaid by layers, individual stories cannot be distinguished. The first story of the pagoda is quite large and comprises the main part of the pagoda with doors, windows, columns, niches, Buddha statues, and other decorative sculptures. Songyue Temple Pagoda in Songshan, Henan, built in the 20th year of the Shengui reign of Emperor Xiaoming during the North Wei dynasty (520 AD) is the oldest pagoda that is still standing today. The pagoda has 15 stories and duo-decagonal planes. Each corner was built with bricks, and is structured like an Indian column. The column's top and bottom were decorated with carvings of lotuses. The entire pagoda's contours and curved surface under each layer of eaves gives a parabolic, gentle, elegant, and beautiful impression. The 40-m high building is built with bricks, and is a sign of the great progress made in masonry techniques. Tianning Temple Pagoda in Beijing, built during the Liao dynasty, is an octagonal thick-eaved pagoda. The pattern of this type of pagoda has been extensively adopted. Moreover, the White Horse Temple Pagoda built in Jin dynasty has a unique style; this pagoda has a massive foundation. The first story of the pagoda is quite short, and the stories above have thin eaves.

Bottle-shaped pagoda. This pagoda type was introduced into China from Nepal. It was extensively built and was the largest type. The pagoda in Miaoying Temple (White Pagoda Temple) in Beijing is an example of this type. This pagoda was designed by Agni, a Nepali architect, and completed in the 9th year of the Zhiyuan reign of Kublai Khan during the Yuan dynasty (1271 AD). It was the oldest bottle-shaped pagoda in China. The White Pagoda, located near the North Sea Lake of Beijing, and the pagoda of Tayuan Temple in Wutai Mountain, Shanxi, are both bottle-shaped. As the name suggests, this pagoda type is shaped like a bottle, with a giant Sumeru seat at the bottom, an overturned bowl (Vajra Ring) on the seat, and a jar-shaped main body of the pagoda above it, called the "the pagoda's stomach." Further above is a Sumeru seat, called the "neck of the pagoda," above which is the conical and fairly cylindrical "Thirteen Heavens," with a Canopy of "Treasure Pearls" at the very highest part. Since Lamaism often adopted this type of pagoda, it is also called the "Lama Pagoda" or "Tibetan Pagoda." In Ming and Qing dynasties, this pagoda became the main type of tomb pagoda used for burial of lamas and senior monks after their death. Therefore, they are commonly referred to as "Monk Tomb." This type of pagoda has retained the basic pattern of the tombs and original styles of the Indian pagoda.

Vajra Throne Pagoda was thus named because in this pagoda, sacrifices are offered to the Five Buddhas—the major Buddha found in the Five Divisions of Vajradhatu. This type of pagoda has five or seven pagodas built on a giant foundation to form a complete group of pagodas. The pagoda has a huge Vajra below and its surface is divided into five stories. It has one layer of Sumeru seats at the bottom. Each story has columns with Buddha niches, which are simple yet magnificent. The pagoda's pedestal has evenly distributed exquisite and elegant sculptures of the Five Buddhas. About ten such pagodas including the Five Pagoda Temple (Zhenjue Temple) outside Xizhimen, Beijing; Vajra Throne Pagoda, Biyun Temple, Beijing; the Five Pagoda Temple of Guandu Town, Kunming, Yunnan, are still surviving in present-day China.

5.1.3 Scripture Pillars

The pillar is an artistic structure, the main function of which is "advocating and commemorating." Pillars created in the Indian style have engraved relief sculptures on the jade wall (the perimeter wall) of buildings that commemorate Buddha. Some pillars are made of stones erected at the front, left, and right of the pagoda, similar to rectangular Chinese styles. The surface of the pillars is engraved with Dharma-cakra, Flying Apsaras, and artistic sculptures of humans and animals under Dharma-cakra. The scripture pillars were quite popular in Tang, Liao, and Song dynasties. Some Dharani scripture pillars were built to establish people's merits and virtues, and some tomb pillars were built to commemorate senior monks.

Scripture pillars in China are mostly stone sculptures; however, a few are made of cast iron. These pillars vary in height and are typically cylindrical, hexagonal, or octagonal. The pillars are comprised of three parts: pedestal, body, and top. The body of the pillar has engravings of text in Dharani scripture, while the pedestal and top are engraved with decorative floral and cloud patterns, Bodhisattva and Buddha, and are quite beautiful. The pillar in the Foguang Temple of Wutai Mountain, Shanxi, built in the late period of the Tang dynasty is quite famous. It is simple and solemn, and is an important and classic art treasure. The Zhao Prefecture Dharani scripture pillar (18 m high) in Zhao County, Hebei, was built using only stones as the construction material during the North Song dynasty. The pedestal has a square stone foundation and an octagonal girdled Sumeru seat above it. The first to third layers of the scripture pillar are engraved with Dharani scripture and the other layers are densely populated with engravings of Buddhist figures, animals, and floral patterns. Its top consists of a copper flame-mirari with solemn and elegant contours to represent the great achievements of sculpture arts made during the Song dynasty. The scripture pillar in Ksitigarbha Temple, Kunming, Yunnan, was built during the mid-Dali period. It measures 8 m in height, is octagonal, and consists of seven stories. The first story is engraved with four Vajras and Sanskrit text, whereas the other stories are engraved with elaborate Buddha statues. It is an important cultural relic for the study of history, culture, and art (chiefly their sculptures) found among minority

nationalities in Yunnan. A famous iron-cast scripture pillar is the iron pillar found in Qianming Temple, Deshan, Changde City, which was built during the Song dynasty. It is about 4 m high, cylindrical, cast in white pig iron, and weighs 3,000 kg. The pedestal of the iron pillar is decorated with Buddha statues, Vajra, dragons, tigers, lotus petals, and other patterns. The body has engravings of scriptures, and is elegant and exquisite.

5.2 Buddhist Sculptures[1]

Buddhist sculptures are best described as statues, engraved and sculptured, found in temples and grottos, as well as utensils or artifacts engraved in gold, stone, jade, wood, porcelain, ceramics, etc. Vivid wooden and clay statues are the most typical styles.[2] Buddhist sculptures are a concentrated expression of Buddhist art and are mainly preserved in grottos excavated more than a thousand years ago. Because stone statues never wear down and large statues cannot be stolen easily, grottos can be easily preserved. Hence, grotto art form developed.

Before Buddhism was introduced into China, Chinese sculptors had already mastered the art forms and exhibited high skill levels. Among cultural relics unearthed in the West of Liaoning in recent years is the head of a painted goddess sculpture dating back to around 5,000 years. The statue appears elegant and vivid; the eyes are inlaid with round pieces of green jade, and the expression reflects a bright and cheerful disposition. Other relics include the jade sculpture of a pig dragon as well as swans. These relics indicate that, even 5,000 years ago, China already had superb sculpture art. Larger sculptures, such as the stone sculptures of crouching horses, jumping horses, lying tigers, and crouching cows appeared in the West Han dynasty. These sculptures are simple, robust, vigorous, and powerful and the images are vivid and artistic. The introduction of Buddhism into China also provided a strong impetus to sculpture art in China and increased the value of sculpture art form in China.

Buddhist sculpture art in China experienced a general process of "absorbing Indian Buddhist sculpture and integrating it with traditional Chinese sculpture art." The evolution of artistic styles can be seen in famous grotto art found in Dunhuang, Yungang, and Longmen.

Chinese Buddhist sculpture art began during the East Jin dynasty. Dai Kui and his son were the famous sculptors during this dynasty and the Buddha statues sculpted by them were extremely exquisite. According to legend, Dai Kui once made a wooden sculpture of Amitayus Buddha and Samantabhadra and donated it to Yinling Treasure Temple, Kuaiji Mountain. When Dai Kui was in the process of creating the sculpture, he would eavesdrop on feedback about his sculpture; then, based on the feedback, he would alter the statue. He did this repeatedly and finally delivered the piece after three years. This goes

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[1]The author has referred to the book *Buddhism and Chinese Sculpture* (Chang Renxia).

[2]Stone stele pillars are also quite important among Buddhist sculptures. Since it has been discussed previously, it will not be discussed here. Also, the statue stele in Buddhism has both text and pictures, and is of important historical and artistic value.

to shows that he greatly valued the artistic quality of his works, and wanted people to experience the "intimacy" of the art, and incite their belief in Buddha. Buddha statues in grottos began to appear from the 2nd year of the Jianyuan reign of Fuqin (366 AD) when monk Lezun excavated a grotto and erected statues in Dunhuang, Gansu. Clay sculpture art was then developed in the Mogao grottos of Dunhuang. Clay sculpture used colorful paints; hence, the name painted sculpture. The painted sculptures in the Mogao grottos of Dunhuang were made of clay, bound with linen, and painted using colorful paints. This style is the most special sculpting style in China, and one of the greatest innovations of ancient sculptors in China. Painted sculptures are an art form that combines sculpture with painting and appear in a variety of forms. They typically reflect the unique environment of the times when they were created. The painted sculptures in the Mogao grottos are magnificent and qualify as unprecedented masterpieces. Clay sculptures and wood carvings allow sculptors to display their talents and exceptional skills with far more ease than they could using metal and stone for sculpturing. Regardless, clay sculptures and wood carvings were gradually replaced by stone sculptures found in grottos during the Tang and Song dynasties. This was a major evolution of Chinese Buddhist sculpture art.

In the early period, Indian Buddhist sculpture and paintings were considered as the model template for the creation of Buddhist sculptures and paintings; hence, the Chinese Buddhist sculptures and paintings exhibited a strong Indian artistic style. Like the Stone Buddha Grotto in Yungang, Datong, Buddha statues in the five caves of Tanyao in the west, are high, magnificent, and solemn. The style of sculpture is quite similar to Gandhara[3] art and Gupta[4] art in India. This style focuses on depicting six beautiful dancers and singers found in the six central caves. Their appearances are striking and they have smiles on their faces and appear to be kneeling down behind curtains. The figurines are lovely, stout, and hold Gandhara poses. Furthermore, the Flying Apsaras in the central sunken panel are plump and short (the height of children), and are quite similar to the Gupta sculptures in India. Those in small western caves were mostly built during the late period of the North Wei dynasty and are thin and slender, with sharp shoulders and wavering ribbons. These are completely different from the images of Flying Apsaras found in the central caves, and reflect the unique Chinese style. After the North Wei dynasty moved its capital from Datong to Luoyang, several Longmen grottos were dug in succession, and the grotto style reached its peak during the Gaozong reign of Queen Wu Zetian during the Tang dynasty. The statues in Longmen grottos have slender bodies, well-proportioned figures, elegant appearances, and smiling eyes that appear gentle and honest and emit

[3]Gandhara art: The founder of Gandhara state was originally Great Yueh Chin who settled down in this region in the 1st century AD (near Dunhuang). As he expanded his territory, the capital moved to Peshawar city in present day Pakistan, which was once occupied by the Greek for centuries and where sculptures in Greek styles still remain. The Gandhara people absorbed and developed the sculpturing techniques of the late Greek period to form robust, magnificent, elegant, and voluptuous features of art.

[4]Gupta art: Buddhist art (such as Ajanta stone caves) developed greatly during the Gupta dynasty (about 320~355 AD), and depicted features such as curly hair of Buddha statue which was changed to jewelry hat, the waist was changed from thick to thin, drooping eyelids that expressed calmness and solitude, clothes were changed from loose to fitting and from multi-layered to single-layered, and pattern was changed to crescent, with rhythmic beauty.

warm human feelings. The Buddha statue in Fengxian Temple is the most typical example, and was considered the best representative of Tang dynasty sculpture art. Compared with the early statues in Yungang grottos, those found in the grottos of Longmen reflect the outstanding and traditional style of Chinese art.

The difference between Chinese and Indian art can be mainly seen in the sculptures, especially in the appearance, patterns, and clothes of the sculptures. Such differences in form resulted in markedly different features over the course of time. As pointed out by Chang Renxia in "Buddhism and Chinese Sculpture," India is located in the tropics. Buddha statues are shown wearing thin garments with exposed right arm and chest. Similarly, the Buddha statues in Caves 17 to 20 in Yungang show the clothes donned obliquely from the left shoulder to the right armpit. The edge of the robe hangs on the right shoulder, with the right chest and arm exposed. Pleats are parallel, hunched, and contain thick double lines. The main characteristic is "exposing the right arm." Left and right Samantabhadra, found in Caves 8 and 20 of Yungang, have a "flat shoulder." The baggy sleeves contrast with the thin and long cut of the robe, which clings to and undulates along the body to form parallel arcs. A shawl goes from the chest to the back at the neckline. These two types of dressing styles were quite popular among early Buddhist statues and were probably introduced from India. They evolved gradually into Chinese styles of clothing. For example, the Buddha statue in Cave 16 of Yungang is a "Crown Costume"—the clothes have a front opening, with exposed corsage, and the chest ribbon can be tied, the ribbon on the right lapel covers the left elbow, the clothes are thick, and the folds are wide and layered. This shows the transition from Indian style to Chinese style. Buddha statues were more or less uniform in appearance after the Tang dynasty. Sculptors chose beautiful and healthy shapes to show beauty and power. For example, the appearance was plump during the Six dynasties, thinner in the later period, and chubby again during the Tang dynasty. Their clothes and accessories were much more complicated and elegant than those in the Northern dynasties and had a more joyous and colorful appearance. In reality, the Tang dynasty unified foreign patterns of Buddhist statues and gradually began to depict statues in the traditional Chinese style.

The main influence of Buddhist sculpture art on traditional Chinese sculpture art form is that the sculptures changed in theme from human and animal forms to religious worship of Buddha and Bodhisattva. Through Buddhist art, the skills of Chinese artists also evolved from simple to exquisite and mature. The style also showed a shift from magnificent and graceful to more solemn and aesthetically pleasing. Although Buddhist sculpture art introduced mysterious concepts and abstract spiritual ideals, it did indeed hasten the progress of sculpture art in China.

5.3 Buddhist Paintings

Buddhist paintings were an important tool of Buddhism that were used to rouse the passion of people and encourage them to worship, and expand the influence of Buddhism.

Buddhist paintings vividly propagate Buddhist doctrines and can be used in worship in various Buddhist disciplines and also add a more solemn atmosphere to the temple halls. Buddhist scholars prefer Buddhist paintings to advocate Buddhism. Mahāyāna scriptures particularly emphasize the merits and virtues of Buddha paintings. As explained in the "Four Questions and Answers, Bhadrakapla Scripture," one method is to "draw Buddha sitting on a lotus, hang the painting up on the wall, embellish it with silk and felt, arrange it appropriately, and this will be auspicious for people seeking good fortune." "Virtue and Simple Scripture, Alms of Soil by Asoka" gives a detailed explanation: Śākyamuni once asked people to create 84,000 paintings of the different forms of Buddha in all his past lives and send them to other countries so that people can worship them. Because of his merits and virtues, the appearance of Buddha was solemn and elegant, and contained thirty-two "major marks" and eighty "minor marks." Buddhist scriptures advocated that he who draws Buddha can become Buddha. In this way, the artist could become a form of Buddha himself and receive good dharma from the 84,000 pagodas. Such definite promises and direct encouragement markedly boosted the art of Buddhist painting.

Before the art of Buddhist paintings was introduced into China, the art of Chinese paintings had been developing independently. For example, paintings from the Han dynasty used a simple and straightforward style. After Buddhist painting art was introduced into China, Chinese painters in the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern dynasties absorbed the techniques of Buddhist paintings and applied them to the developing art of Chinese painting. During the Sui and Tang dynasties, the South and North were unified, and painters further integrated the new art form of Buddhist painting with Chinese traditional art. Thus, Buddhist art reached its zenith and became the recognizable face of what was known as Buddhist painting. Buddhist painting art form declined after the Song dynasty along with the gradual decline in the popularity of Buddhism.

Based on historical records, the art of Buddhist painting was brought from India in the early years of Buddhism in China. Because he was influenced by Buddhist paintings, Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty ordered artists to paint in the Buddhist style. As recorded by "the Records of Elderly Shi" in "The Book of Wei Dynasty": "Emperor Ming ordered painters to draw Buddha, and place the paintings on the Qingliang Stand and Xianjie Mausoleum." Hence, the art of the time was probably a reflection of the skill of the Chinese painters because there were very few painters proficient in Buddhist painting art during the Han dynasty. Famous Buddhist painters appeared subsequently in the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern dynasties. In fact, Buddhist paintings became the central art form of Chinese painting art in the Six dynasties. During that time, all Chinese painters were skilled in the art of creating Buddhist paintings. One of the earliest painters was Chao Buxing from the East Wu Kingdom. He imitated the Buddhist painting style brought by Kang Seng Hui, who came and preached in China. Figures in his paintings were well proportioned. Zhang Mo and Wei Xie were famous painters in the West Jin dynasty. Wei Xie once drew a Seven Buddha painting and dared to leave the "eye" incomplete. He was known as the "Sage Painter." The paintings during the Han dynasty were quite simple and gradually became increasingly exquisite through Wei Xie. His artistic expression influenced the

trends in Buddhist paintings for years. Gu Kaizhi, a great painter in the East Jin dynasty was also a master in the art of Buddhist paintings. He focused on eyes when drawing portraits and explained that "The eye is the most critical part used in conveying the spirit." He proposed the theory of "expressing the spirit with physical forms." According to legends, Gu drew the portrait of the secular devotee Vimalakīrti on the wall of Waguan Temple in Jiankang (Nanjing). It was a brilliant piece of work that caused a sensation. Lu Tanwei of Song, during the Southern dynasty period, learned the painting skills of Gu Kaizhi and his paintings were featured with elaborate and continuous lines. Zhang Sengyao in Liang of Southern dynasty was good at Buddhist painting art and inherited the style of Chinese and Indian frescos. He used the rendering techniques and shades to divide bright and dark and introduced several changes. He formed his own simple style called the "Zhang Style." Cao Zhongda in North Qi dynasty came from Central Asia. The Buddhist paintings that he drew featured narrow and tight fitting clothes, mostly of the Abhinavagupta artistic style. He founded a special style called "Cao Style."

Buddhist paintings during the Tang dynasty, especially frescos, flourished in a most unprecedented manner. Most frescos at that time were drawn by famous painters, such as Wu Daozi, who inherited the great achievements of the previous painters before him. Wu Daozi became known as the best Buddhist painter of ancient times. He was honored with the title "Sage Painter." He once drew 300 religious frescos (Buddhist and Taoist temples) in Chang'an and Luoyang. His style was bold, simple, magnificent, vivid, and three-dimensional. He used orchid leaves or water shield strips to depict folds that appeared as if moving in the wind. People called it "Wu's bands flying in the wind." He drew lines with ink and added few colors. This style was called "Wu Clothes." His painting style was described as a "thin" style by later generations to distinguish it from the tight and continuous "dense" style of Gu Kaizhi and Lu Tanwei. The painting style of Wu Daozi exerted great influence on future figure drawings. Zen Buddhism became prevalent from the mid-Tang dynasty. Zen Buddhism focused on directly guiding the heart, advocating sudden enlightenment. Subsequently, the style was less focused on form and did not deem the art of Buddhist paintings highly. Therefore, the art of Buddhist painting gradually declined. The life philosophy of "remaining aloof, following a natural course and being broad-minded" was, for the most part, in sync with the free, natural, and serene landscape. Wang Wei, the great poet and painter in the Tang dynasty, indulged in the joy of Zen Buddhism and loved wandering in the mountains. His landscape paintings in dark and pale ink were poetic and admired by later generations as "poetry in painting." He changed the original style of traditional landscape painting and inspired the style of being "aloof, free, and simple." This style exerted a profound influence on the development of Chinese paintings. Buddhist paintings in the Tang dynasty were richer and far more splendid than those of the past and reflected a far broader realm. They held an important status in China's painting history. Buddhist paintings integrated more and more Chinese traditional techniques and gradually moved away from the Indian style. Moreover, painters diverted their interests from Buddhist painting styles to other styles such as landscapes, flowers, and birds. Subsequently, Chinese artists gradually broke away from Buddhist art styles and turned to the pursuit of pure beauty.

On the whole, Buddhist paintings in China can be classified into two major types: portraits and pictures. Portraits mainly depicted Buddha, Bodhisattva, the Wisdom King (the angry Buddha and Bodhisattva), Arhat, ghosts and deities (Eight Divisions of Gods and Dragons), and senior monks. Pictures depicted Buddha's life (the preachings of Śākyamuni during his lifetime), Jataka (the life story of Śākyamuni while preaching to all beings when he was Bodhisattva in past lives), Story of Scriptures (refers to all or a part of one Buddhist scripture), stories, and paintings for the Ceremony of Saving Lives of Water and Land (the religious painting hung in the hall for such ceremonies). What is noteworthy are the pictures of the scriptures and the ceremony of saving water and land. Scripture painting was another innovation in Chinese Buddhist art, and facilitated the development of painting skills and styles. It broke away from the confinement of the Buddhist life and Jataka stories, and explored a broader horizon to reflect reality and create new images. For example, the famous "Vimalakīrti Picture," which was drawn based on the "Scripture told by Vimalakīrti," vividly illustrated the scene where the secular devotee Vimalakīrti displayed unbeatable eloquence during his debate with Manjushri. Gu Kaizhi drew the picture of Vimalakīrti under the influence of metaphysics in the Wei and Jin dynasties that upheld "empty talk." "Pure Land" Buddhism was also quite popular in the Tang dynasty. Correspondingly, stories about "pure land" were also expressed in temple frescos. In stories of pure land, painters depicted the seventh heaven in the west magnificently with seven-treasure mansions, lotus ponds, trees, birds, flowers, dancers, and singers. The solemn and beautiful scene contradicted with the strict commandments and asceticism found in Buddhism, which indirectly reflected the court life of the Tang dynasty and people's wishes. After Buddhism was introduced into China, stories and paintings that corresponded with Confucian ethics spread extensively. For example, the story of Jataka of Yamaku, depicting the story of the King of Jiayi, who hunted in the mountains and accidentally shot Yamuku, who was farming in the mountain. However, Yamuku's last thought was that of his blind parents who had no one to take care of them after his death. He was eventually saved by a deity and rose from his grave. This story about filial piety was an extremely popular Buddhist theme in the Northern and Southern dynasties. It was always combined with traditional filial stories and was included into "Stories of Filial Suns." Pictures used in the "Ceremony of Saving Water and Land" are generally divided into an Upper Hall and Lower Hall. The Upper Hall contains Buddha and Bodhisattva portraits; the Lower Hall has portraits of gods, deities, Confucian missionaries, immortals, town gods, and the local God of the land. These are some of the great achievements of Buddhist and Taoist paintings. God and deity portraits in the Lower Hall also include Taoist paintings that reflect the convergence of Buddhism and Taoism. Thus, Chinese Buddhist paintings give a visual snapshot of the evolution of Buddhist ideology in China.

Buddhist painting holds a remarkable and important position in China's history of painting art form. Besides the many classical works produced and their refreshing styles, Chinese Buddhist paintings also enriched the theme of the painting itself. Such themes were no doubt religious in nature and exerted a passive influence on people, which we will

discuss later. We must also point out that the religious content in Buddhist paintings also expressed positivity. Artists expressed joy and suffering, passion and hope in life imaginatively through Buddhist paintings, and showed the valuable characteristics of being "abstinent, calm, patient and sacrificial." For example, the "Story of Vimalakīrti" expressed the pursuit of "truth" through fierce debate, and the "Story of Vanquishing Mara" displayed the belief of overcoming difficulties and vanquishing evil through persistence.

5.4 Buddhist Music

Music with its strong artistic appeal expresses man's thoughts and feelings through artistic imagery and organized tones. Ancient Confucians in China highly valued music. The "Book of Music" was upheld as one of the Six Classics. The "Book of Filial Piety" says that, "nothing else can make changes in customs and traditions better than music." The "Book of Rites," the "Book of Music," and "Theory of Music" (Xun Tse) all emphasized the role of music in touching the heart, pleasing the feelings, edifying the mind, educating people, and boosting morale. Rulers of the Qin and Han dynasties established a music department, named "Yuefu." During the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, Yuefu was a key department that was responsible for the music at court banquets, gatherings and parades, and collection of folk songs and ballads. Before Buddhism was introduced into China, court music and folk music were quite popular. After the introduction of Buddhism into China, because Buddhism viewed music in a different light than that by traditional Chinese culture, it had to adapt to the Chinese people's demands of cultural life and artistic appreciation, as well as advocating Buddhism and collecting alms through the Eight Precepts. Despite the Buddhist rule, "Don't watch dance or listen to music," after a long period of exploration and practice, Chinese Buddhist musicians gradually integrated the time-honored court, religious, and folk music that made up Chinese culture, and developed a form of Buddhist music featuring "far, void, indifferent, and calm" sounds, which became a part of the national music.

Buddhist music was introduced into inland China along with Buddhism from India via the western part. Buddhist melodies from India could not be adapted to the language and musical traditions in the central plains of China and could not fit the lyrics, which were translated into, or composed in, Chinese. To overcome this dilemma, monks used folk or court melodies to adapt the Buddhist melodies which came from India, or they simply composed Buddhist melodies de novo. Thus, a new form of Chinese Buddhist music came into being. Later on, monks who were gifted in singing continuously absorbed Buddhist melodies from India and, more importantly, did not cling to old melodies of Buddhism. They were innovators and continuously replenished Buddhist music with new melodies. Therefore, Buddhist music developed in China.

We have already mentioned that Buddhist chants were sung with new tones and in Chinese, whilst imitating Indian melodies. This style of aria featured beautiful melodies and strong rhythm. As recorded in history by Xiao Ziliang, Duke Wenxuan of Jingling,

Qi State during the Southern dynasties, once "invited famous monks to preach Buddhism and create new Buddhist chants" (Volume 40 "The Biography of Ziliang, Duke Wenxuan of Jingling" in the Book of Southern Chi Dynasty). These "new Buddhist chants" referred to Buddhist music. Xiao Yan, Emperor Wu of the Liang State was a devoted Buddhist disciple and a Buddhist musician. He once wrote ten lyrics, including "Good Indeed," "Supreme Being," "Elimination of Past Evils," and "Wheel to Depart Pain." "This is termed as 'formal music,' and explains all about Buddhism" (The Book of Sui, Record of Music, Part I). These lyrics advocated Buddhism and could be sung together with Buddhist melodies. Buddhist music was also popular in the Northern dynasties. For example, Buddhism flourished and Buddhist temples were popular in North Wei. "Buddhist chants and 'Tu' notes were sung over continuous eaves" (The Records of Elderly Shi, from The Book of Wei). "Tu" notes refer to the sound of "stupa" (Buddhism), that is, Buddhist music. Temples often played Buddhist music, which was quite common in the Northern and Southern dynasties.

During the Sui dynasty, the court set up "Seven Divisions of Music" and "Nine Divisions of Music." The "Seven Divisions of Music" were: State Music, Qingshang Music, Korean Music, Indian Music, Boukhara Music, Qiuci Music, and Wen Kang Music. The name "Qingshang" music was later changed to Qing Music. Two divisions of Kashgar and Samarkand were added to form a total of Nine Divisions. The Seven and Nine Divisions of music included songs and dances from minority nationalities and foreign countries. The dance music called "Heavenly Music" from the Indian Division was actually a Buddhist melody. It indicated that some Buddhist melodies were already quite popular, and were adopted by the court banquet. The Tang dynasty inherited the Nine Divisions of Music and added Chotscho music to increase the overall number to Ten Divisions. "Ceremonial Melody" appeared during the Sui dynasty. "Ceremonial Melody" was developed from "Ceremonial Music," that is, the music used during Buddhist rites; hence, the name "ceremonial music." It was the combination of music including nationalities from China's western region, and Qingshang music of the Han nationality (after its introduction into the central plains). Ceremonial music with its foundation in Qingshang music, incorporated elements of Buddhist music, and later developed into ceremonial melody used in the Sui dynasty. Musical instruments included, among others, cymbals, bells, temple bells, flutes, and lutes. Metal, stone, stringed, and woodwind instruments subsequently joined the list and strengthened the ensemble. Ceremonial melodies written in the Tang dynasty were then combined with Taoist melodies, and reached the pinnacle of this musical style. Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty loved ceremonial melody and once ordered opera players to learn and sing these melodies.

Buddhism flourished in an unprecedented manner during the Tang dynasty. Buddhist music also gradually prospered and eventually meshed with the culture. Some famous grand temples in the metropolis were bases of religious activities, as well as a public place for entertainment. In the Tang dynasty, "playhouses" were mostly set up in temples. Monks often gave lectures on Buddhism, narrated stories, and performed operas, acrobatics, and magic." Many masters were monks. Duan Benshan during the reign of Emperor Dezong of the Tang dynasty was one such remarkable monk. According to legends, a grand show was staged in Chang'an during the Zhenyuan period of Emperor Dezong. Kang Kunlun

was a famous lute player in Chang'an and was known as the best player in the courts. He performed in the Colored Mansion of East Market and was a great success. After his performance, a lady appeared in the Colored Mansion of the West Market. She played the "Luyao Feather Tune" of Kunlun, with the even more difficult "Wind and Fragrance Tune." Kunlun was overwhelmed by her thrilling and glorious performance and asked her to accept him as a disciple. The lady turned out to be the Monk Duan Benshan dressed as a female performer. It demonstrated that the lute skills of banquet performers had reached a magical level. The poet Yuan Zhen once spoke highly of Li Guan'er, an outstanding disciple of Duan Benshan in his "Song of Lute": "Guan'er still plays Six Little's, and the melody still echoes. I arrive at Three Gorges covered by snow, hearing the whistling of apes and the cry of cranes in the sky." We can imagine the top-notch artistic cultivation and style of Duan Benshan. Wen Xu, a monk lecturer in the Changqing reign of Tang dynasty, was good at narrating stories in a melodious manner and had a soulful voice. "He told the stories in front of masses of people, claiming that it was from scripture. Uneducated men and women loved to listen and would cry out of emotion. Imperial music houses learned his melodies and wrote songs" (Volume 4 of "Yin Hua Lu," Zhao Lin of Tang Dynasty." "Dialogue Music" performed by Wen Xu became the model learned by composers and artists in Musical Houses).

Buddhist monk artists in the Tang dynasty were also good at incorporating folk music into their repertoire and using it to advocate and serve Buddhism. One such instance is that of the famous monk Shaokang of the Pure Land School during the Zhenyuan reign of Tang dynasty. He performed the "Buddhist Hymn" and "Eulogy" by imitating and transforming the sounds of Zheng Wei using feelings of indifference, conceitedness, and peacefulness, and molding them into heart rendering sounds, which could be used in the appropriate parts of the song. "Like a good doctor, he put honey on bitter medicine and lured babies into eating it" (Biography of Shaokang, Biography of Senior Monks in Song Dynasty, Volume 25). What this indicated was that Chinese Buddhist music originated and developed into a folk art.

Folk artists took over the task of collecting, sorting, and spreading folk music beyond the royal courts during the North Song dynasty. Folk artists established their own groups and had regular stages, called "Wazi" or "Wasi." The performance stage, which was originally within the Buddhist temples, gradually moved to the Wazi. Despite the shift, some grand temples still had stages and held temple fairs and music events. Buddhist music will continue to absorb folk and alien music and in the process further enrich itself. South and North lyrics[5] were popular in the Yuan dynasty and were later incorporated within Buddhist hymns. From the 15th to 18th year of the Yongle reign (Ming dynasty), monks compiled 50 volumes of "Buddha, Bhagawan, and Bodhisattva Songs" and used more than 300 classical and popular melodies in mainland China. As advocated by the Ming dynasty, some temples in Beijing had orchestral music. For example, Zhihua Temple commonly

[5]The Southern and Northern Lyrics: a general name for melodies used by operas and Yuan play in the north and south.

used 100 single orchestral melodies and musical instruments, which included two pipes, two "Sheng," two flutes, and two pairs of Chinese gongs. Additionally, there were percussion instruments including drums, bells, large cymbals, and small cymbals. The music of Zhihua Temple was preserved through the strict inheritance system between "master and disciples" which was established in 1446. It has been passed on up to the 28th generation of disciples. Although the music of this temple has a strong religious undertone and court elegance, it has retained the simple style of folk music. In recent years, "Buddhist Orchestra" was established in Beijing. More and more Buddhist music is being recovered as we continue our efforts of delving into and clarifying the style. Furthermore, Buddhist music has also been introduced into Europe, with rave reviews.

Buddhist music will imperceptibly infect, provoke, and influence believers of Buddhism. In ancient times, people had little cultural life and often only had a chance of appreciating arts and joining artistic activities through festival activities, fairs, and opera shows at the temples. Buddhist music played an active role in spicing up public cultural life. Accordingly, Buddhist temples were the collector, preserver, teacher, and enhancer of folk music to a certain extent. Therefore, we can say that Buddhist music has helped to preserve and develop folk music.

Buddhist art serves to advocate Buddhism, but it isn't merely a servant of religion. Numerous famous and obscure artists all added to their understanding, attitudes, and passion for life through Buddhist art. When depicting or creating artistic images, the artists express their aesthetic standard, and awaken the otherworldly awareness of the subject in an environment of theocracy. The artists convey the brightness of the world in their art, allowing people to enjoy the "fresh, vivid, and vibrant" beauty of Buddhist art. We should recognize that Chinese Buddhist art also reflects the wisdom of ancient artists. Temples, pagodas, Buddha statues, and frescos, whether located in deep mountains, dense forests, or noisy streets, are all splendid artistic treasures and the pride of China.

CHAPTER

6

Buddhism and Chinese Folk Customs

Ever since its introduction into China during the Western and Eastern Han dynasties, Buddhism has continued to spread for almost 2,000 years. Buddhism has had an influence on not only the ethics, philosophy, literature, and arts in China but also all kinds of folk customs. In turn, the indigenous Chinese folk customs have also influenced Buddhism. Folk customs are varied in nature and influence all aspects of life including production and trading, dress styles, food, shelter, modes of travel, weddings, funerals, festivals, holidays, amusement and entertainment, beliefs and witchcraft. China encompasses a vast area and many nationalities. Each region and nationality has its own unique and characteristic folk customs. During the spread of Buddhism, many Buddhist beliefs and folk customs also developed, thus adding to the varied foreign beliefs and superstitions. Buddhism promotes the concepts of karma, reincarnation, pure land, preta and hell, giving rise to expressions such as the nether world, Yama, ghost judge, expiate the sins of the dead, worship Buddha, beating ghosts, offer sacrifices, burn joss sticks, redeem a vow to God, chant scriptures, washing figures of Buddha, build Buddha statues, build Buddhist pagodas and temples, attend temple fairs, and pray for blessings. All of these have greatly expanded the range of Chinese folk customs and added to the mystique. These additions have also infused the lives of ordinary people with a certain order, spiritual joys, and psychological satisfaction. In this chapter, we will further discuss in detail the changes in folk customs and beliefs brought about by Buddhism.

6.1 Buddhist and Folk Festivals

Buddhism has many festivals commemorating Śākyamuni and Bodhisattva, which have had the greatest influence on Chinese folk customs. Such festivals mainly include Laba Festival, Ghost Festival, Saka Dawa Festival, and Water-Sprinkling Festival.

6.1.1 Laba Festival

The Laba Festival is the prelude to the Chinese Spring Festival, commonly known as the "Off Year." It is an important traditional festival. In ancient times, people often hunted and offered fowl and animals as sacrifices to heaven, earth, Gods, spirits, and ancestors so that they may be granted blessings, longevity, and good luck and to pray for averting disaster and also to welcome the end of the year. This ceremonial sacrifice was called as "End-of-Year Sacrifice." The 12th month at the end of the lunar year is called as "La Month" in common folk language. In "La Month," people offered sacrifices to eight gods, including Harvest God and Insect God; hence, this month was also called "La Ba" (Ba meaning eight). Since the Han dynasty, La Ba (the 8th day of the 12th lunar month) was set as the day on which such sacrificial offerings could be made. After its introduction into China, Buddhism gradually flourished in the Northern and Southern dynasties, and the Buddhist personnel combined the sacrificial day in "La Month" with the commemoration day of Śākyamuni. Thus, "La Ba" became a festival with both Chinese and foreign characteristics. It is believed that Śākyamuni achieved Buddhahood on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. On that day, temples would hold memorial ceremonies and offer Laba porridge to Buddha. According to a Buddhist legend in China, Buddha Śākyamuni left his family and began living as an ascetic. He practiced asceticism and traveled far and wide. One day, he fainted out of hunger and exhaustion. One kind shepherdess saw him, and she hurried back to cook grain and fruits into a pasty porridge with spring water and fed this porridge to Śākyamuni.[1] The porridge refreshed and restored Śākyamuni's strength. After eating, he took a bath in the Niranjana River, which was close by, and meditated quietly under a pippala tree (later called as Linden Tree). While meditating, he realized the "truth of Buddhism" and became Buddha on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. Later, Buddhist monks chanted scriptures on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month to commemorate this event, and offered porridge to Buddha just as the shepherdess had; hence, La Ba porridge is also called as "Buddha porridge." The monks' habit of eating Laba porridge on Laba Festival spread among the common folk and became a folk custom. La Ba was also transformed from a festival that commemorates Śākyamuni's transformation into Buddha to a full-fledged festival, and Laba porridge naturally came to be considered a festival food. The custom of eating Laba porridge in China started from the Song dynasty. According to Volume 10 of Record of the Capital City of the Northern Song dynasty of Meng Yuanlao in Song dynasty,

> A few monks and nuns lined up and chanted scriptures in the street on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month, and put a golden, copper, or wooden Buddha statue in a silver or copper container, basket, or basin, immersed the statue with incense water, sprinkled water on them with poplar twigs to preach Buddhism in front of each door. Temples would hold Buddha Bath Ceremony and offered porridges of seven treasures and five flavors to disciples, called as "Laba Porridge." People in the capital also cooked porridges with nuts and grains on that day.[2]

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[1]According to the original legend in Indian Buddhism, the shepherdess fed him deer milk.

[2]Record of the Capital City of the Northern Song Dynasty" (External Four Types), P 61, China Book Store, Beijing, 1962.

"Laba Porridge" is usually cooked with grains, dates, almond, walnut kernel, chestnut, and peanuts. It is cooked on a low flame until it becomes a pasty concoction. In contrast with the Buddhist customs, common folk ate Laba porridge to celebrate the harvest season and drive away ghosts, evil, and plague. This custom was followed not only by the common folk but also by emperors, empresses, and officials who would offer Laba porridge to each other on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month for good luck and happiness.

Since the Ming dynasty, another story revolving around Laba porridge became widespread. It is said that Zhu Yuanzhang, before he became an emperor, spent his childhood in poverty. He herded cattle for a landlord. One day, while crossing a bridge, he and the cattle fell into the brook and the cattle broke its legs. As punishment, the landlord locked Zhu Yuanzhang in a room and did not give him food for three consecutive days and nights. He was so hungry that he contemplated eating a mouse that was holed in the shed. As he reached into the mouse hole, contrary to his expectations, he found corn, rice, beans, and taros in the mouse's "granary." He dug further, collected, and cooked the grains in a pot and made porridge. The porridge was very delicious. After he became an emperor, he would feast on exotic delicacies but one day when he tired of chicken, duck, fish, pork, and other delicacies from the land and sea, he suddenly recalled the porridge he had cooked using grains from the mouse hole on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. So, he ordered eunuchs to cook porridge with grains and beans. His courtier followed suit. This custom soon spread among the common folk. Laba porridge was very popular in the Qing dynasty. According to the records of Yan Jing in Qing dynasty, a cauldron that could cook 50 kg of grains would be set up in front of the Palace of Earthly Tranquility on the night of the 7th day of the 12th lunar month to cook porridge through the night. The mansion east of the Imperial Academy in Beijing was changed to the Lama Temple during the reign of Emperor Yongzheng. Laba porridge was cooked in a cauldron inside the Lama Temple on every Laba festival day, and lamas were invited to chant scriptures; after which, porridge would be distributed to nobles and officials. This tradition became popular among common folk. The family gathered together to eat and presented Laba porridge to relatives and neighbors. Even today, in Beijing, the coastal areas of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, central Anhui, eastern Shandong, and China's northeast and northwest regions, the custom of eating Laba porridge is still followed.

Although it has undertones of religion and superstition, eating Laba porridge on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month is considered quite beneficial to the human body. Moreover, because it is treated as an activity to celebrate harvest, it also adds to the fun of daily life. In fact, Laba porridge with attractive colors and tantalizing flavor has become a delicious snack commonly loved by the people.

6.1.2 Festival Activities on the Birthdays of Buddha and Bodhisattva

To strengthen the propaganda effect of Buddhism, Chinese Buddhist monks set a specific date to commemorate the birthdays of a number of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Temples often held ceremonies to celebrate the birthdays of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, including

those who were not recorded in Indian Buddhist scriptures. For example, the following are the birthdays of some Buddhas: January 1, Maitreya; February 19, Avalokitesvara; February 21, Samantabhadra; April 4, Manjushri; July 30, Ksitigarbha; November 17, Amitabha. Other important dates include June 19 the day when Avalokitesvara became Buddha, and September 9 the day when Avalokitesvara renounced the world and became a monk. Because temples regularly held such events, the names and images of Avalokitesvara, Maitreya, and Amitabha have become deeply rooted in the psyche of the common folk. They became the idols commonly worshipped by the Chinese. Avalokitesvara, in particular, is well known and piously worshipped by "devout men and women." In the past, grand temple fairs in honor of Avalokitesvara were held in the regions of the Han and Man nationalities on the 29th day of the 2nd lunar month. It became a religious festival among the common folk. Putuo Mountain in Zhejiang, which was considered sacred to the Boddhisattva Avalokitesvara, is always crowded during the festivals and there are thousands of worshippers who go there to offer incense and pay homage to Avalokitesvara. Buddhists from overseas also trek a long way to pay homage. Furthermore, Avalokitesvara holds a special place in the culture of the Bai nationality in Yunnan and Guizhou. There is a story about Avalokitesvara: It is said that Avalokitesvara came to Zhonghe Peak of Chang Mountain, west of Dali city to subdue Raksa, a cannibal fiend, and then ascend to heaven by riding on clouds. According to legends, Sanyue Street in Dali is the place where Avalokitesvara recaptured Pingba[3] and struck a deal with Raksa. Hence, Sanyue Street was also called "Memorial Street of Avalokitesvara," "Street of Avalokitesvara," or "Market of Avalokitesvara." People of Bai nationality even connected Snow of Cang Mountain, Wind of Lower Pass, and Moon of Erhai Lake (four scenes of Dali) with Avalokitesvara. Therefore, people of the Bai nationality hold not only a grand assembly on the 29th day of the 2nd lunar month to commemorate Avalokitesvara by burning incense and kneeling down before the statue but also organize a fair in Shangyang Xi on the 25th day of the 4th lunar month each year. Thus, Avalokitesvara Fair has also become an important religious festival of the locals.

6.1.3 From the Day of the Monks Confessional to the Ghost Festival

Many people know that the Day of the Monks Confessional (the 15th day of the 7th lunar month) and Birthday of Buddha (the 8th day of the 4th lunar month) are the two grandest Buddhist festivals. According to Ullambana Scripture, Ullambana Festival is held on the Day of the Monks Confessional (the 15th day of the 7th lunar month) and a variety of foodstuff is offered to the confessional monks by people in the belief that it will relieve their parents from sufferings in the current life and seven past lives. Emperor Wudi of Liang in the Southern dynasties set an example by observing Ullambana Fast in the

[3]Pingba is the name of a place.

Tongtai Temple. In the Tang dynasty, the royal family would send Ullambana and other things to official temples. Among the common folk, some people also offered Ullambana and other things in the temples. Ullambana was often decorated luxuriously with gold and jade. Temples in Chang'an were exquisitely decorated with flower wax, flower bottles, artificial flowers, and fruit trees and these decorations were beautifully displayed in the halls for people to enjoy. The place for holding the Ullambana Festival was changed to a ritual site within the royal palace since the reign of Emperor Daizong in the Tang dynasty. The seven positions of sagehood were embroidered on giant banners during the reign of Emperor Gaozu in the Tang dynasty. Officials welcomed, kneeled down before, and guided the monks, while they chanted scriptures from the Imperial Ancestral Temple to the ritual site inside the palace. The scene was quite grand.

The majesty, grandeur, and religious significance of the Ullambana Festival was greatly weakened in the Song dynasty and was replaced by ceremonies for "releasing the dead from suffering" and "offering Ullambana to ghosts instead of to monks." Taoism advocates a belief in "Three Gods"—gods of the heaven, the earth, and water. The Three Gods are also called as Three Elements. The God of the Heaven was born on the 15th day of the 1st lunar month. He is the Upper Element and is the giver of blessings. The God of the Earth was born on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month. He is the Middle Element and can grant forgiveness for sins. Taoist scriptures absorbed Buddhist doctrines and preached that the God of Earth descends to the earth on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month to judge the good and evil in the world. So, Taoist priests chant scriptures day and night so that the hungry ghosts could be relieved from their evil. The God of Water was born on the 15th day of the 10th lunar month. He is the "Lower Element" and saves people from disasters. Buddhism adopted the term "Middle Element" from Taoism and called the 15th day of the 7th lunar month as the "Middle Element" Festival, which later came to be known as the "Ghost Festival." Because "Middle Element" Festival was combined with Buddhist Ullambana Festival, "Middle Element" and "Upper Element" festivals became two corresponding grand festivals held in spring and autumn, respectively. During the "Middle Element" Festival on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, temples would hold the Ullambana Ceremony and collect donations of money and/or rice from almsgivers, and monks chanted scriptures to release the ghosts from sufferings. Temples also printed and sold Mulian Scripture and Namgyal Mantra. Funeral objects, shoes, hat ribbons, and paper clothes were also sold on the streets. People built 3~5 feet high tripods with bamboo sticks and weaved them into a net of Ullambana. People also hung paper clothes and paper money on the Ullambana and then burned them to offer sacrifices to ancestors. Meanwhile, they bound hemp, grain, and cereal together and placed them on both sides of the gate and hall to show their reverence to heaven, earth, and ancestors. Some even brought fruit and oblations to offer as sacrifices to their ancestors' tombs. People often raised money to build a stage and enact the scene of Mulian saving his mother. People even made paper boats with paper ghost soldiers to burn, which was called as "sending river lantern or burning dharma boat." Later, the "Middle Element" Festival began to

be celebrated on the 14th day of the 7th month. It is said that the Yuan army suddenly invaded the Song dynasty when people were preparing to celebrate the Middle Element festival, so people had to offer sacrifices to their ancestors one day in advance to avoid the harassment. Since then, this custom has been followed till this day and the Ghost Festival is celebrated on the 14th day of the 7th lunar month. Although the "Middle Element" Festival is not celebrated anymore, the old custom of offering sacrifices to ancestors and sweeping their tombs is still observed.

6.1.4 Saka Dawa Festival and Water-Sprinkling Festival

Tibetan people follow Tibetan Buddhism. To commemorate the achievement of nirvana by Śākyamuni, they would celebrate "Saka Dawa Festival" on the 15th day of the 4th lunar month. During the 4th lunar month, killing animals and eating meat are prohibited. On the 15th day of the 4th lunar month, Tibetan people in Lhasa would carry buttered tea, food, and mattresses to row bullboats in Dragon King Lake behind Potala Palace to celebrate the festival. They also set up tents in parks of Dragon King Lake and sang and danced all night. Tibetans in Kangding, Sichuan, would play in Paoma Mountain on the 8th day of the 4th lunar month to commemorate Śākyamuni's nirvana, which is called as "Hill's Festival."

The Dai people in Xishuangbanna believe in Hīnayāna Buddhism and their New Year is known as "Water-Sprinkling Festival." Sprinkling water symbolizes saying goodbye to the old, welcoming the new, cleansing the dirt of the past year, wishing for blessings, averting disaster and ailments, and praying for harvest and happiness. This grand festival of the Dai people is also connected with the traditional festival observed in Hīnayāna Buddhism. According to the legend in Theravada of Hīnayāna, the 15th day of the 4th lunar month is the birthday of Buddha Śākyamuni, and the day he achieved Buddhahood and nirvana. Dai people consider three to five days in the middle of the 4th lunar month as the New Year festival based on the Dai calendar. During this festival, Dai people in Dehong region would visit villages and sprinkle water for three days. During the Water-Sprinkling Festival, people take baths and change clothes. Youngsters are dressed up and go to temples with flowers and leaves that they have collected. In the temples, they make flower pagodas with the branches and wild flowers and build pagodas with sand around the temple. The sand pagodas are about 3 to 4 feet high and are covered with bamboo branches with color paper on the top. Each family would build several pagodas to pray for the dead in the family. Then, people sit around pagodas and listen to monks chanting scriptures. In keeping with the tale that "the dragon sprayed incense and rain to bathe the Buddha when the Buddha was born," girls would take bucketfuls of clear water with fragrant flowers and pour it into a wooden dragon, the water would then be made to flow out of the dragon's mouth onto the Buddha statue; this is called "washing (bathing) Buddha." People would wash their eyes with the same water and pray for blessings. Next, the aged would sprinkle the water using hands or twigs to bless each other. Youngsters would also sprinkle water onto the aged to send their blessings. Then, boys and girls

would walk to the street with buckets or basins of water. They would chase and sprinkle water on each other while singing and dancing; thus, spreading happiness. The sounds of sprinkling water, laughter, drums, and gongs are heard everywhere, and is the climax of the Water-Sprinkling Festival. The Water-Sprinkling Festival brings happiness and inspiration to the Dai people.

6.2 Concepts of Incarnation and Becoming Buddha and Folk Customs

The Buddhist concepts that had the greatest influence on the common folk are karma, incarnation, reincarnation, and becoming Buddha. Such concepts have caused great psychological impact on the people, and led to the gradual formation of local beliefs and customs such as believing in the immortality of the soul, believing in Buddha and Bodhisattva, and believing in the existence of ghosts and gods. As a consequence, Chinese people gradually formed the practice of worshiping Buddha and Bodhisattva, and held ghosts and gods in awe, as well as a set of funeral rituals of the dead.

6.2.1 Worshiping Gods in Temples

The most outstanding expression of Buddhist faith is "cult to gods in temples." Temples were built across China, in cities and villages, over mountains and plains. At one point of time, temples densely populated the regions of Xi'an, Luoyang, Kaifeng, Datong, Taiyuan, Beijing, Nanjing, Zhenjiang, Suzhou, Hangzhou, among others, and construction of temples was quite commonplace. For example, during the reign of Emperor Wudi of Liang, there were over 500 Buddhist temples in the capital of Jiankang (now Nanjing). Even in poor and remote areas (such as Wutai Mountain), small to grand temple complexes were built. People expressed their admiration and worship to Buddha and Bodhisattva by burning incense, kneeling down before Buddha statues, offering fruits, donating to monks, building temples, statues and pagodas, printing Buddha scriptures, making and redeeming vows, and holding religious rites. Such idol worshiping was once quite popular, which contributed to the formation of a religious mentality among many people. Thus, the ideal and value of life was guided to a track surpassing the reality.

6.2.2 Mystification of Funeral Customs

The concept of soul, that is, the concept of two distinct entities the flesh and soul, already existed in China in ancient times. It was believed that the flesh and soul separate after death and the soul will never perish. Following death, the soul separates from the body and is called as "ghost" or "ghost soul." There are two types of ghost souls: if the

individual has had a normal death or is succeeded by descendants, the soul is considered to be a good soul; however, if the individual has had an abnormal or violent death or has no descendants, then the soul is deemed as an evil soul. After Buddhism was introduced into China, the concept of soul was combined with karma, incarnation, and reincarnation, leading to the belief that after death the soul can ascend to heaven and become Buddha, be reborn as a person, cow, sheep, pig, dog, or even fall to the depths of hell as a hungry ghost based on the good or evil deeds performed before death. The concepts of incarnation and reincarnation led people to follow different funeral rites, that were sometimes tedious, backward, and even mysterious. For example, monks were invited to chant scriptures on the day of death. Some even held the Ceremony of Saving Lives of the Water and Land (also called as the Rituals or Fast) for forty-nine days to offer food to all living creatures in water and on land, chant scriptures, pray for forgiveness, and relieve souls from suffering. Since the Song dynasty, the grand Ceremony of Saving Lives of the Water and Land was held by the court to release the souls of those who had died in wars from sufferings. Lay Buddhist Su Dongpo in the Song dynasty once held a ceremony of Saving Lives of the Water and Land for his wife to express his mourning and pray for releasing her from sufferings. This ceremonial custom gained prominence and began to be observed by the common folk.

6.3 Some Buddhist Rules, Ceremonies, and Folk Customs

Buddhist rules and important ceremonies became accepted as a part of folk customs. Some obvious examples are the custom of cremation, setting souls free, eating vegetarian food, and drinking tea.

6.3.1 Cremation

The custom of cremation in China did not originate from Buddhism; rather, it already existed as a funeral custom since ancient times. It was quite popular among minority nationalities in northwest and southwest China. For example, in the pre-Qin period, people in the Yiqu State west of Qin state would burn their dead relatives with wood fire and call it "Ascending to the Heaven. Then, they became filial sons" (Mo Zi: Funerals II). The Yiqu State was located in present-day Qingyang and Jingchuan, Gansu province. The Yiqu people followed the custom of cremation. According to Buddhist customs, monks and nuns should be cremated after death. Usually, the ashes of dead monks or nuns after cremation would be sealed in jars and buried within the temple or in the temple premises. The ashes of some accomplished monks or nuns with outstanding merits and virtues would be buried in niches or pagodas (dagobas). Some temples cremated not only their

own followers but also other common folk, and sometimes, they did this for a fee. This Buddhist funeral custom also had an influence on the spread of the custom of cremation among the common folk. Cremation was a common custom followed in the Song, Liao, Jin, and Yuan dynasties and along the border and central China. This practice declined gradually only in the Ming and Qing dynasties because of strict prohibition enforced by the feudal rulers, however, it could not be eliminated. The Tu and Tibetan people in Qinghai had naturally inherited the custom of cremation through Buddhism. Cremation continues to remain a common custom till today.

6.3.2 Setting Lives Free

Buddhism advocates "mercy" as the greatest virtue. The first rule in the Five Precepts is "to abstain from killing" and "setting lives free." Buddhism requires that its disciples be merciful and always set free lives, and preaches that by doing so disciples will be rewarded with longevity. It basically reflects the ideology of Wei and Jin dynasties—"People in Handan offered doves to Jian Tzu on 1st January." Jian Tzu had stated that, "setting free lives on the 1st day of the first lunar month is to show kindness," as recorded in "Explaining Conjunctions" of Lie Zi. The custom of setting free lives was observed from ancient times. The Liang State in the Southern dynasties had a Free Life Pavilion. Zhi Kai, the real founder of the Tiantai Sect in the Sui dynasty strongly advocated "setting lives free," which had a great influence on folk customs in Jiangsu and Zhejiang. At the foot of the Tiantai Mountain, Zhejiang, there were many large Free Life Pools. Emperor Suzong in the Tang dynasty ordered the building of several Free Life Ponds across the empire. Eighty ponds were built to breed fish; and fishing was prohibited in these ponds. On one stele for the Free Life Pond, Yan Zhenqing inscribed the words, "A pond was built with swamps around. Animals and plants, fish and birds are protected here." During the Tianxi reign in the Song dynasty, Wang Qinruo once reported to the throne to designate West Lake in Hangzhou as the Royal Free Life Pond. Zhi Li, a famous scholar in the Song dynasty, advocated holding "Ceremony of Setting Free Lives" on the birthday of Buddha. Free Life Ponds were also built in some temples. People would bring fish or birds that they had bred themselves or bought them to set them free when they burned incense and worshipped Buddha to accumulate their "good virtues." This custom of setting free lives is practiced to this day.

6.3.3 Vegetarian Food

The ancient Chinese indulged in drinking alcohol and eating meat to celebrate happy occasions, and ate only vegetables and fruits during mourning. Food that comprised only vegetables was called vegetarian food. There was no prohibition on eating meat and drinking alcohol. Indian Buddhists used earthen bowls to beg for food, and did not have any choice in food. In the early period after the introduction of Buddhism into China, Buddhists did not have strict rules about food. In Sarvastivada-vinaya, a

Buddhist Book of Precept, it is said that "I heard of three kinds of pure meat? What are they? They are pure meats that we haven't seen, heard, and suspected they are meats for killing." Which means that Buddhist disciples can eat three types of pure meat that they haven't seen, heard, or suspect came from a killing. Later, the devout Buddhist disciple Emperor Wudi of Liang in the Southern dynasty strongly advocated that Buddhists not eat meat. According to Mahāyāna scriptures like the Nirvana Scripture · Four Aspects, Emperor Wudi wrote articles demonstrating the necessity and importance of not eating meat. He emphasized that, "All living creatures can't kill since one life has 80,000 insects, or 8 billion insects as recorded by the scripture. If we kill one life, we actually kill 80,000 insects" (Discussion on No Meat Food with Zhou She, Guang Hong Ming Collection, Volume 26). He thought that eating meat was actually killing living beings and was against the precept of "No Killing." He also proposed that monks who drank liquor and ate meat should be punished severely: "the oldest monks and the monks with most disciples shall be punished first. Why? Punishing an unimportant monk who violates rules is not enough to correct the behavior. Punishing a great monk will arouse a stir" (*No More Meat and Liquor, Guang Hong Ming Collection, Volume 26*). In order to abolish the practice of eating meat and drinking liquor, Emperor Wudi declared that any senior monk who eats meat or drinks liquor would be punished. This brought about a change in the monks' habit of eating three types of pure meat, as advocated by Xiao Yan, and influenced the lives of future monks. The monks' dietary habits also had an influence on the dietary habits of the common folk. Some people choose to eat vegetarian food on the 1st and 15th day of each month. Senior people usually prefer vegetarian food, and this food habit is followed even today. Delicious and special vegetarian food dominated by soybean products has enriched the dietary structure of the Chinese people.

6.3.4 Drinking Tea

Drinking tea is a common practice among the Chinese and has been in existence for centuries. This practice was even advocated by Buddhism. Temples commonly plant tea shrubs and monks consume tea; this has facilitated further spread of the custom of drinking tea among the common folk.

Sitting in meditation is an important part of Buddhism. It requires that the individual sit calmly, concentrate on thoughts, and focus the mind to reach the state of "light and healthy body, quiet mind, watching the world brightly and clearly." It is necessary that the individual sit with feet crossed, keeping the body straight and focus the mind, with head and back upright and no shaking, leaning, reclining, or falling asleep. It is natural that sitting still for long periods of time will cause tiredness and drowsiness. However, according to Buddhist rules one cannot eat anything following lunch although consumption of beverage is allowed. Buddhism also does not permit drinking liquor or eating meat or fish in order to avoid stimulation of nerves. Therefore, tea, because it could rejuvenate the person and alleviate fatigue, became the most ideal drink that could aid sitting in meditation, and conformed to Buddhist precepts.

Initially, Buddhist monks in China boiled tea with orange, sweet osmanthus, ginger, and other spices as was common among the common folk and called it "Cha Su." In the Tang dynasty, when Zen was popular, the Zen Temples were very selective about tea. Tea was boiled separately instead of with spices. Temples had "Tea Halls," where Zen monks discussed Buddhist principles, entertained almsgivers and guests, and tasted famous tea. Monks convened near the "tea drum" in the northwest corner of the Ceremonial Hall to drink tea. Zen monks would drink tea after lighting an incense stick to refresh their mind and concentrate on thoughts when sitting in meditation. The temples had an appointed "Tea Head," who was in charge of making tea and offering it to guests. Some temples also had "Tea Monk" in front of the gate who offered tea to travelers. Tea in Buddhist temples was called as "Temple Tea" and was divided into several kinds including "Sacrificial Tea," offered to Buddha and Bodhisattva; "Ordained Tea," drunk based on years of ordainment, and "Common Tea," for all monks. After they washed their hands and faces early in the morning, Zen monks would drink tea before worshipping the Buddha. Some Zen monks would drink forty to fifty cups of tea each day. Drinking tea has become an indispensable part of the daily life of monks, and could be regarded as a special hobby of monks.

Buddhist temples advocated drinking tea and also paid attention to planting tea trees and collecting and processing tea leaves. Many temples planted tea gardens and prepared famous tea. For example, Pi Lo Chun originated from Pi Lo Peak of Dongting Mountain, Jiangsu. The boiled tea is clear and fresh green. Its original name was "Water and Moon Tea," and was first made by a monk from the Water and Moon Yard on Dongting Hill, Jiangsu. The predecessor of Oolong tea was "Wu Yi Yan Tea" from Wu Yi Mountain, Fujian. The best Oolong tea was that made by monks from Wuyi Temple since the Song and Yuan dynasties. Dafang tea made by monks in the Ming dynasty was the predecessor of Tunlu tea south of Anhui. Many famous types of tea in China originated in temple premises. It is said that purple porcelain teapot that had a special function in preserving tea flavor was invented by an old monk in Jinsha Temple, Yixing, south of Jiangsu. Lu Yu in the Tang dynasty loved tea and was good at performing the tea ceremony. He was regarded as the "God of Tea" by later generations. His "Tea Scripture" was the earliest treatise of tea in the world. He was not a Buddhist, but he lived in a temple and never left temples during his lifetime. Tea Scripture was the end product of his journey to some famous mountains and ancient temples, where he practiced picking tea leaves, made and tasted tea, and extensively absorbed monks' experiences and summed them up.

The habit of drinking tea in Buddhist temples had a great influence on the tea drinking customs among the common folk. In Drinking Tea, Records of Things Seen and Heard, Volume 6, the author Mr. Feng says, "In the middle of Kaiyuan (Tang dynasty), a devil hunter advocated Zen Buddhism in Lingyan Temple, Taishan. He didn't sleep or eat, drank only tea while learning Zen Buddhism. People carried the teapot and drank tea where they rested. Then, it became a custom." The habit of drinking tea in temples spread and became a common custom in the North. The famous Jingshan Temple in Yuhang, Zhejiang, in the Song dynasty often held tea banquets that were attended by monks, almsgivers, and pilgrims, wherein tea contests involving tasting and appraising

tea quality were conducted. The method of "making tea by adding boiled water" was also invented, which played an important role in the further spread of the habit of drinking tea among the common folk. Along with the introduction of Buddhism into Korea, tea was also brought to Korean temples and the habit of drinking tea was formed and became popular among the common folk. Tea was introduced to Japan from China in the Han dynasty. Jingshan Temple in Yuhang, Zhejiang, was called as "the First Zen Temple in the Southeast" in the South Song dynasty where guests were offered tea. "Tea banquet" is often set up with a set of cooking utensils, and involves certain drinking methods and rituals. Japanese monks who studied in China brought the "tea banquet" to Japan and combined it with local customs; this has evolved into the "tea ceremony."[4]

[4]Based on "Japanese Sado Originated from Jingshan, Yufang, Zhejiang," *Guangming Daily*, April 23, 1998.

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